THE

WORKS

OF THE

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DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN,

ARRANGED BY THOMAS SHERIDAN, A.M.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

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TO THE

COUNT DE GYLLENBORG.*

SIR, Dublin in Ireland, Nov. 2, 1719.

IT is now about sixteen years since I first entertained the design of writing a history of England, from the beginning of William Rufus to the end of queen Elizabeth; such a history, I mean, as appears to be most wanted by foreigners, and gentlemen of our own country; not a voluminous work, nor properly an abridgment, but an exact relation of the most important affairs and events, without any regard to the rest. My intention was to inscribe it to the king † your late master, for whose great virtues I had ever the highest veneration, as I

* He married the widow of Elias Derritt, esq., deputy of the great wardrobe, niece to John Allen, esq., of Gretton, in Northamptonshire. Her daughter, miss Derritt, was afterwards created countess Gyllenborg, and married baron Sparre.

† Charles XII. king of Sweden, who was unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Fredericshall, Dec. 11, 1718. Immediately after his death, baron Gotz, his prime minister, was arrested, tried, and executed at Stockholm, being charged by the senate with all the oppressive measures of the late reign. Having been deeply engaged in the Swedish conspiracy against George I., in the year 1716, baron Gotz, at the desire of that prince, had been arrested at the Hague, and at the same time count Gyllenborg was seized, and sent out of England.

shall continue to bear to his memory. I confess it is with some disdain that I observe great authors descending to write any dedications at all: and for my own part, when I looked round on all the princes of Europe, I could think of none who might deserve that distinction from me, beside the king your master (for I say nothing of his present Britannick majesty, to whose person and character I am an utter stranger, and likely to continue so); neither can I be suspected of flattery on this point, since it was some years after that I had the honour of an invitation to his court, before you were employed as his minister in England, which I heartily repent that I did not accept; whereby, as you can be my witness, I might have avoided some years uneasiness and vexation, during the last four years of our late excellent queen, as well as a long melancholy prospect since, in a most obscure disagreeable country, and among a most profligate and abandoned people.

I was diverted from pursuing this history, partly by the extreme difficulty, but chiefly by the indignation I conceived at the proceedings of a faction, which then prevailed; and the papers lay neglected in my cabinet until you saw me in England; when you know how far I was engaged in thoughts and business of another kind. Upon her majesty's lamented death, I returned to my station in this kingdom; since which time there is not a northern curate among you who has lived more obscure than myself, or a greater stranger to the commonest transactions of the world. It is but very lately that I found the following papers, which I had almost forgotten. I publish them now, for two reasons; first,

first, for an encouragement to those who have more youth *, and leisure, and good temper than I, toward pursuing the work as far as it was intended by me, or as much farther as they please; the second reason is, to have an opportunity of declaring the profound respect I have for the memory of your royal master, and the sincere regard and friendship I bear to yourself; for I must bring to your mind how proud I was to distinguish you among all the foreign ministers, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. I am a witness of the zeal you showed not only for the honour and interest of your master, but for the advantage of the protestant religion in Germany, and how knowingly and feelingly you often spoke to me on that subject. We all loved you, as possessed of every quality that could adorn an English gentleman, and esteemed you as a faithful subject to your prince, and an able negotiator; neither shall any reverse of fortune have power to lessen you either in my friendship or esteem: and I must take leave to assure you farther, that my affection toward persons has not been at all diminished by the frown of power upon them. Those whom you and I once thought great and good men, continue still so in my eyes and my heart; only with a * * * * * * * * * *

Cætera desiderantur.

* The author was then in his fifty-second year.

ABSTRACT

OF THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the Invasion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR to WILLIAM the CONQUEROR.

THE most ancient account we have of Britain is, that the island was full of inhabitants, divided into several petty kingdoms, as most nations of the world appear to have been at first. The bodies of the Britons were painted with a sky-coloured blue, either as an ornament, or else for terrour to their enemies. In their religion they were heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the Jews.

Their priests were called druids: these lived in hollow trees, and committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly lost.

The Britons had wives in common, so many to a particular tribe or society; and the children were in common to that society.

About fifty years before Christ, Julius Cæsar, first Roman emperor, having conquered Gaul or France, invaded Britain, rather to increase his glory than conquests; for, having overcome them in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invasion of Britain by the Romans (then masters of most of the known world) was in the reign of the emperor Claudius; but it was not

wholly subdued till that of Nero. It was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, sent from Rome, as Ireland is now by deputies from England; and continued thus under the Romans for about 460 years; till, that empire being invaded by the Goths and Vandals, the Romans were forced not only to recall their own armies, but also to draw from hence the bravest of the Britons, for their assistance against those Barbarians.

The Roman conquests in this island reached no farther Northward than to that part of Scotland where Stirling and Glasgow are seated. The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: it was inhabited by a barbarous people, called Caledonians and Picts; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infested the British borders. Therefore the emperor Severus built a wall, from Stirling to Glasgow, to prevent the invasions of the Picts: it is commonly called the Picts Wall.

These Picts and Caledonians, or Scots, encouraged by the departure of the Romans, do now cruelly infest and invade the Britons by sea and land: the Britons choose Vortigern for their king, who

A. D. 455. was forced to invite the Saxons (a fierce Northern people) to assist him against those Barbarians. The Saxons came over, and beat the Picts in several battles; but, at last, pick quarrels with the Britons themselves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and establish themselves in seven kingdoms in Britain now called England. The seven kingdoms are usually styled the Saxon Heptarchy.

A. D. 460. About this time lived king Arthur (if the whole story be not a fable) who

was so famous for beating the Saxons in several battles.

The Britons received Christianity very early, and, as is reported, from some of the disciples themselves: so that, when the Romans left Britain, the Britons were generally Christians. But the Saxons were Heathens, till pope Gregory the Great sent over hither Austin the monk, by whom Ethelbert king of the South Saxons and his subjects were converted to Christianity; and the whole island soon followed the example.

A. D 600.

After many various revolutions in this island among the kingdoms of the Saxons, Egbert descended from the West-Saxon kings, became sole monarch of England.

A. D. 800.

The language in Britain was British (now called Welsh) or Latin; but with the Saxons, English came in, although extremely different from what it is now. The present names of towns, shires, &c. were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called England from the Angles, who were a branch of the Saxons.

As soon as the Saxons were settled, the Danes began to trouble and invade them, as they (the Saxons) had before done the Britons.

These Danes came out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway; a rough warlike people, little different from the Saxons, to whom they were nigh neighbours.

After many invasions from the Danes, Edgar king of England sets forth the first navy. He was entitled "King of all Albion" (an old name of this island) and was the first absolute monarch. He made

made peace with the Danes, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the English.

In this prince's time there were five kings in Wales, who all did him homage for their country.

These Danes began first to make their invasions here about the year 800; which they after renewed at several times, and under several leaders, and were as often repulsed. They used to come with vast numbers of ships, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of London, Winchester, &c. Encouraged by success and prey, they often wintered in England, fortifying themselves in the Northern parts, from whence they cruelly infested the Saxon kings. In process of time they mixed with the English (as was said before) and lived under the Saxon govern-

A. D. 978. ment: but, Ethelred then king of England, growing weary of the Danish insolence, a conspiracy is formed, and the Danes massacred in one day all over England.

Four years after, Sweyn king of Denmark, to revenge the death of his subjects, invades England; and after battles fought, and much cruelty exercised, he subdues the whole kingdom, forcing Ethelred to fly into Normandy.

Sweyn dying, his son Canutus succeeds in the kingdom; but, Ethelred returning with an army, Canutus is forced to withdraw to Denmark for succour.

Ethelred dies, and his son Edmund Ironside succeeds; but, Canutus returning with fresh forces from Denmark, after several battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. Edmund dying, his sons are sent beyond sea by Canutus, who now is sole king of England.

Hardicanute, the last Danish king, dying without issue, Edward, son of Ethelred, is chosen king. For his great holiness, he was surnamed the Confessor, and sainted after his death. He was the first of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He first introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the English gentry, of using the French tongue and fashions in compliance with the king, who had been bred up in Normandy.

The Danish government in England lasted but twenty-six years, under the three kings.

Edward the Confessor married the daughter of earl Godwin, an English nobleman of great power but of Danish extraction; but, wanting issue, he appointed Edgar Atheling, grandson to his brother, to succeed him, and Harold, son of earl Godwin, to be governor of the young prince. But, upon Edward's death, Harold neglected Edgar Atheling, and usurped the crown for himself.

Edward, while he was in Normandy, met so good reception, that it was said he made a promise to that duke, that, in case he recovered his kingdom, and died without issue, he would leave it to him. Edward dying, William duke of Normandy sends to Harold to claim the crown; but Harold, now in possession, resolves to keep it. Upon which duke William having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades England, lands at Hastings, and sets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To Harold he sent his messenger, demanding the kingdom and his subjection: but Harold returned him this answer, "That, unless he departed

"his

" his land, he would make him sensible of his just " displeasure." So Harold advanced his forces into Sussex, within seven miles of his enemy. The Norman duke, to save the effusion of blood, sent these offers to Harold; " either wholly to resign the " kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him " in single combat." To this Harold did not agree.

Then the battle joined. The Normans had gotten the worst, if it had not been for a stratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement Harold was killed, and William duke of Normandy became king of England, under the Name of William the Conqueror.

A. D. 1066.

THE REIGN OF

WILLIAM THE SECOND, SURNAMED RUFUS.

AT the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldest son Robert, upon some discontent with his father, being absent in France; William the second son, made use of this juncture, and without attending his father's funeral, hastened to England; where, pursuant to the will of the deceased prince, the nobility, although more inclined to favour Robert, were prevailed with to admit him king; partly by his promises to abate the rigour of the late reign, and restore the laws and liberties which had been then abolished, but chiefly by the credit and solicitations of Lanfranc; for that prelate had formerly a share in his education, and always a great affection, for

for his person. At Winchester he took possession of his father's treasure *: in obedience to whose command, as well as to ingratiate himself with the people, he distributed it among churches and religious houses, and applied it to the redeeming of prisoners, and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time Robert returned to Normandy, took possession of that duchy, with great applause and content of his people; and, spited at the indignity done him by his father, and the usurpation of his brother in consequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and army to invade England; nor did there want any occasion to promote his interest, if the slowness, the softness, and credulity of his nature, could have suffered him to make a right improvement of it.

Odo bishop of Baieux, of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign, a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character being restored to his liberty and possessions in England, grew into envy and discontent, upon seeing Lanfranc preferred before him by the new king in his favour and ministry. He therefore formed a conspiracy with several nobles of Norman birth to depose the king, and sent an invitation to Robert to hasten over. Mean time the conspirators in order to distract the king's forces, seized on several parts of England at once; Bristol, Norwich, Leicester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Bath, and Durham, were secured by several noblemen: Odo himself seized Rochester, reduced the coasts of

* Which was sixty thousand pounds in silver, beside gold, jewels, and plate. Brompton.

Kent,

Kent, and sent messages to Robert to make all possible speed.

The king, alarmed at these many and sudden defections, thought it his best course to begin his defence by securing the good will of the people. He redressed many grievances, eased them of certain oppressive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his forest, with other marks of indulgence, which, however forced from him by the necessity of the time, he had the skill or fortune so to order as they neither lost their good grace nor effect; for immediately after he raised great forces both by land and sea, marched into Kent, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered Tunbridge and Pevensey, in the latter of which Odo himself was taken prisoner, and forced to accompany the king to Rochester. This city refusing to surrender at the king's summons, Odo undertook to prevail with the obstinacy of the inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or seeming force; however, the king provoked at their stubbornness and fraud, soon compelled them to yield, retook his prisoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure England, sent him into Normandy.

By these actions, performed with such great celerity and success, the preparations of duke Robert were wholly disappointed; himself, by the necessity of his affairs, compelled to a treaty with his brother, upon the terms of a small pension, and a mutual promise of succeeding to each other's dominions on failure of issue, forced to resign his pretensions, and return with a shattered fleet to Normandy.

About

About this time died archbishop Lanfranc; by whose death, the king, loosed from that awe and constraint he was under, soon began to discover those irregularities of his nature, which till then he had suppressed and disguised, falling into those acts of opppression and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the see of Canterbury four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own use, together with those of several other bishopricks and abbeys, and disposed of all church preferments to the highest bidder. Nor were his exactions less upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended transgression of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to observe men's actions, and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth observation, that these corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of several learned men, given rise to two customs, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, first the successors of this king, continuing the custom of seizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of sees and abbeys, it grew in process of time to be exacted as a right or acknowledgment to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant bishopricks belong at this day to the crown. The second custom had an original not unlike. Several persons, to avoid the persecutions of the king's informers, and other instruments of oppression, withdrew themselves and their effects to foreign countries; upon which the king issued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his licence; from whence, in the judgment of the same

same authors, the writ *ne exeat regno* had its beginning.

By these, and the like arbitrary methods, having amassed great treasures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raised a powerful army to invade his brother in Normandy; but upon what ground or pretext, the writers of that age are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjust princes, That old oppressions are best justified by new; or, whether having a talent for sudden enterprises, and justly apprehending the resentment of duke Robert, he thought it the wiser course to prevent injuries, than to revenge them. In this expedition he took several cities and castles from his brother, and would have proceeded farther, if Robert had not desired and obtained the assistance of Philip king of France, who came with an army to his relief. King William, not thinking it safe or prudent to proceed farther against his enemy, supported by so great an ally, yet loth to lose the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practised oftener, or with greater success, and that was, to buy off the French king with a sum of money. This had its effect; for that prince, not able to oppose such powerful arms, immediately withdrew himself and his forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the measures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the side of king William; for he kept all the towns he had taken, obliged his brother to banish Edgar Atheling out of Normandy, and for a farther security brought over with him to England the duke himself to attend him in his expedition against Malcolm

colm king of Scotland, who, during his absence, had invaded the borders. The king, having raised great forces both by sea and land, went in person to repel the inroads of the Scots: but the enterprise was without success; for the greatest part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and his army very much diminished by sickness and famine, which forced him to a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the king of England agreed to deliver him up those twelve towns (or manors) in England which Malcolm had held under William the Conqueror; together with a pension of twelve thousand marks.

At this time were sown the seeds of another quarrel between him and duke Robert, who soliciting the king to perform some covenants of the last peace, and meeting with a repulse, withdrew in great discontent to Normandy.

King William, in his return from Scotland, fell dangerously sick at Glocester, where, moved by the seasonable exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to discover great marks of repentance, with many promises of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the church. To give credit to which good resolutions, he immediately filled several vacant sees, giving that of Canterbury to Anselm, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning, But as it is the disposition of men who derive their vices from their complexions, that their passions usually beat strong and weak with their pulses, so it fared with this prince; who upon recovery of his health, soon forgot the vows he had made in his sickness, relapsing with greater violence into the same irregularities of injustice and oppression,

sion, whereof Anselm, the new Archbishop, felt the first effects. This prelate, soon after his promotion, offered the king a sum of money by way of present; but took care it should be so small, that none might interpret it to be a consideration of his late preferment. The king rejected it with scorn; and as he used but little ceremony in such matters, insisted in plain terms for more. Anselm would not comply; and the king enraged, sought all occasions to make him uneasy; until at length the poor archbishop, tired out with perpetual usurpations (or at least what was then understood to be such) upon his jurisdiction, privileges, and possessions, desired the king's licence for a journey to Rome; and upon a refusal, went without it. As soon as he was withdrawn, the king seized on all his revenues, converting them to his own use, and the archbishop continued an exile until the succeeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the king and archbishop, are not, in my opinion, considerable enough to deserve a place in this brief collection, being of little use to posterity, and of less entertainment; neither should I have mentioned it at all, but for the occasion it gives me of making a general observation, which may afford some light into the nature and disposition of those ages. Not only this king's father and himself, but the princes for several successions, of the fairest character, have been severally taxed for violating the rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reason. It is true, this character has made the lighter impression, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the contemporary writers being generally churchmen: and it must be confessed, that the usurpations of the church

church and court of Rome, were in those ages risen to such heights, as to be altogether inconsistent either with the legislature or administration of any independent state; the inferiour clergy, both secular and regular, insisting upon such immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power; and the bishops removing all controversies with the crown by appeal to Rome: for they reduced the matter to this short issue, That GOD was to be obeyed rather than men; and consequently the bishop of Rome, who is CHRIST's representative, rather than an earthly prince. Neither does it seem improbable, that all Christendom would have been in utter vassalage, both temporal and spiritual, to the Roman see, if the Reformation had not put a stop to those exorbitancies, and in a good measure opened the eyes of those princes and states, who still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of the church.

While the king continued at Gloucester, Malcolm king of Scotland came to his court, with intentions to settle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controversy arose about some circumstances relating to the homage which Malcolm was to pay; in the managing whereof king William discovered so much haughtiness and disdain, both in words and gestures, that the Scottish prince, provoked by such unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but soon came back at the head of a powerful army, and, entering Northumberland with fire and sword, laid all waste before him. But as all enterprises have in the progress of them a tincture of those passions by which they were spirited at first, so this invasion, begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable passion, was carried on with

with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event; for Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, to prevent the destruction of his own country where he had great possessions, gathering what forces he could suddenly raise, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched against the Scots, who were then set down before Alnwick castle: there, by an ambush, Malcolm and his eldest son Edward were slain, and the army, discouraged by the loss of their princes, entirely defeated. This disaster was followed in a few days by the death of queen Margaret, who, not able to survive her misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miseries of that kingdom end, till, after two usurpations, the surviving son of Malcolm, who had fled to England for refuge, was restored to his crown by the assistance of king William.

About this time the hidden sparks of animosity between the two brothers, buried, but not extinguished, in the last peace, began to flame out into new dissensions: duke Robert had often sent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redress; which provoked him to expostulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injustice and perjury; but no men are found to endure reproaches with less temper than those who most deserve them: the king, at the same time filled with indignation, and stung with guilt, invaded Normandy a second time, resolving to reduce his brother to such terms as might stop all farther complaints. He had already taken several strong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and intending intirely to subdue the duchy, gave orders to have twenty thousand men immedi-

ately raised in England, and sent over to him. The duke, to defend himself against these formidable preparations, had recourse again to his old ally the king of France, who very readily advanced with an army to his assistance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own account; for, beside the appearance of glory and justice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle, by preserving his neighbouring state in the hands of a peaceful prince, from so powerful and restless an enemy as the king of England; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain: for king William, either loth to engage in a long and dangerous war, or hastened back by intelligence of some troubles from Wales, sent officers to his army, just ready to embark for Normandy, that upon payment of ten shillings a man they might have leave to return to their own homes. This bargain was generally accepted; the money was paid to the king of France, who immediately withdrew his troops; and king William, now master of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

In this passage there are some circumstances which may appear odd and unaccountable to those who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners; that an absent prince, engaged in an unjust war with his own brother, and ill-beloved at home, should have so much power and credit, as by his commission to raise twenty thousand men on a sudden, only as a recruit to the army he had already with him; that he should have a fleet prepared ready, and large enough to transport so great a number; that upon the very point of embarking he should send them so disgraceful an offer; and that so great a

number

number of common soldiers should be able and willing to pay such a sum of money, equal to at least twelve times as much in our times, and that after being thus deluded and spoiled at once, they should peaceably disband and retire to their several homes. But all this will be less difficult to comprehend, when we reflect on the method of raising and supporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in use, and so continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars, with a proportioned number of soldiers, who were their tenants on easy rents in consideration of military service. This was but the work of a few days, and the troops consisted of such men as were able to maintain their own charges either at home or abroad: neither was there any reason to apprehend that soldiers would ever become instruments for introducing slavery, who held so great a share in the property.

The king, upon his return from Normandy, made an unsuccessful expedition against the Welsh, who upon the advantages of his absence had, according to their usual custom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford. Upon the king's approach they fled into their fastnesses among the mountains, where he pursued them for some time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loss of great numbers of his men, to no purpose. From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home: for Robert, earl of Northumberland, overrating his late services against the Scots, as much perhaps and as unjustly as they were undervalued by the king, refused to come to his court, which, in those days, was looked on as the

first usual mark of discontent in a nobleman; and was often charged by princes as a formal accusation. The earl having disobeyed the king's summons, and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depose king William, and set up Stephen earl of Albemarle, son of a sister to William the Conqueror: but all was prevented by the celerity of this active prince; who, knowing that insurrections are best quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible speed, and surprised the rebels at Newcastle, took the castles of Tinmouth and Bamburgh; where the obstinacy of the defendants provoked him, contrary to his nature, to commit cruelties upon their persons, by cutting off their hands and ears, and other the like inhumanities. The earl himself was taken prisoner as he endeavoured to make his escape; but suffered no other punishment than to be confined for the rest of his life *.

About this time began the Holy War for the recovering of Palestine; which having not been the enterprise of any one prince or state, but that wherein most in Christendom had a share, it cannot with justice be silently passed over in the history of any nation.

Pope Urban the second, in a council at Clermont, made a pathetick exhortation, ſhowing with what danger and indignity to Christendom, the Turks and Saracens had, for some ages, not only overrun all Asia and Africa, where Christianity had long flourished; but had also made encroachments into Europe, where they had entirely subdued Spain, and some other parts; that Jerusalem, the holy city, where our Saviour

* Which was thirty years.

viour did so many miracles, and where his sepulchre still remained, to the scandal of the Christian name, lay groaning under the tyranny of infidels; that the swords which Christian princes had drawn against each other, ought to be turned against the common enemy of their name and religion; that this should be reckoned an ample satisfaction for all their past sins; that those who died in this expedition should immediately go to Heaven, and the survivors would be blessed with the sight of our LORD's sepulchre.

Moved by these arguments, and the influence of the person who delivered them, several nobles and prelates immediately took upon them the cross; and the council dissolving in this high fit of zeal, the clergy, upon their return home, prevailed so far in their several countries, that in most parts of Europe some great prince or lord became a votary for the Holy Land; as Hugh the Great, brother to the king of France; Godfrey duke of Lorrain; Reimond count of Toulouse; Robert duke of Normandy, and many others. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that most of these noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raised, pawned their dominions to those very prelates who had first engaged them in this enterprise: doubtless a notable mark of the force of oratory in the churchmen of those ages, who were able to inspire that devotion into others, whereof they seemed so little sensible themselves.

But a great share in the honour of promoting this religious war, is attributed to the zeal and industry of a certain French priest, commonly called Peter the Hermit; who being at Jerusalem upon pilgrimage some time before, and entering often into private treaty with the patriarch of that city, came back

fully instructed in all the measures necessary for such a war: to these was joined the artifice of certain dreams and visions that might pass for divine admonition: all which, added to the piety of his exhortations, gave him such credit with the pope, and several princes of Christendom, that he became in his own person the leader of a great army against the infidels, and was very instrumental for engaging many others in the same design.

What a spirit was thus raised in Christendom among all sorts of men, cannot better be conceived than from the vast numbers of these warlike pilgrims; who, at the siege of Nice, are said to have consisted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horse: and the success at first was answerable to the greatness of their numbers, the valour of their leaders, and the universal opinion of such a cause; for, beside several famous victories in the field, not to mention the towns of less importance, they took Nice, Antioch, and at last Jerusalem, where duke Godfrey was chosen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthusiasm, as I take this to have been, is a composition only fit for sudden enterprises, like a great ferment in the blood, giving double courage and strength for the time, until it sink and settle by nature into its old channel: for, in a few years, the piety of these adventurers began to slacken, and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies: however, to this spirit of devotion there succeeded a spirit of honour, which long continued the vein and humour of the times; and the Holy Land became either a school, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war; or a scene wherein they affected to show their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home.

The

The Christians held possession of Jerusalem above eighty years, and continued their expeditions to the Holy Land almost as many more, with various events; and after they were entirely driven out of Asia, the popes have almost in every age endeavoured in vain to promote new croisadoes; neither does this spirit seem quite extinct among us even to this day; the usual projects of sanguine men for uniting Christendom against the Turk, being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the same fountain.

Robert, in order to furnish himself out for this war, pawned his duchy to the king for 10,000 marks of gold *; which sum was levied with so many circumstances of rigour and exaction, toward the church and laity, as very much increased the discontents of both against the prince.

1099. I shall record one act of this king's, which being chiefly personal, may pass rather for a part of his character, than a point of history.

As he was hunting one day in the New Forest, a messenger express from Normandy, brought him intelligence that Helie, count de la Fleche, had laid close siege to Mans, and expected to carry the town in a few days. The king leaving his chace, commanded some about him to point whereabout Mans lay; and so rode straight on without reflection, until he came to the coast. His attendants advised him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned: "They that "love me will follow me." He entered the ship in a violent storm; which the mariners beholding with astonishment, at length in great humility gave

* Equal to 1,400,400 l. as money passes now.

him warning of the danger; but the king commanded them instantly to put off to sea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the count himself prisoner; who, raging at his defeat and captivity, exclaimed *, "That this blow was from Fortune; but Valour "could make reprisals, as he should show, if ever he "regained his liberty." This being told the king, he sent for the count, let him understand that he had heard of his menaces; then gave him a fine horse, bid him begone immediately, and defied him to do his worst.

It would have been an injury to this prince's memory, to let pass an action, by which he acquired more honour than from any other in his life, and by which it appeared that he was not without some seeds of magnanimity, had they been better cultivated, or not overrun by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing else in this king's reign that deserved to be remembered; for; as to an un-

* There is so much pleasantry and humour, as well as spirit and heroism in this story, as we have it recorded by William de Malmesbury, who represents the menace as thrown out in the king's presence, that I shall make no apology for setting down his words at length. "Author turbarum Helias capitur; cui ad se adducto "rex ludibundus, 'Habeo te, magister, inquit.' At ille, cujus "alta nobilitas nesciret etiam in tanto periculo sapere; 'Fortuitò "inquit, me cepisti: si possum evadere, novi quid facerem.' Tunc "Willielmus, præ furore ferè extra se profitus, & obtuens Heliam, "'Tu inquit, nebulo, tu quid faceres! Discede; abi; fuge. Con-"cedo tibi ut facias quicquid poteris: et per vultum de Luca, "nihil si me viceris, nihil pro hâc veniâ tecum paciscar." i. e. By the face of St. Luke, if thou shouldst have the fortune to conquer me, I scorn to compound with thee for my release.

successful

successful expedition or two against Wales, either by himself or his generals, they were very inconsiderable both in action and event, nor attended with any circumstances that might render a relation of them of any use to posterity, either for instruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of casualty; although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the person of a prince is generally less subject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exercise of hunting, in the New Forest in Hampshire, a large stag crossed the way before him; the king, hot on his game, cried out in haste to Walter Tyrrel, a knight of his attendants, to shoot; Tyrrel immediately let fly his arrow, which glancing against a tree, struck the king through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without speaking a word. Upon the surprise of this accident, all his attendants, and Tyrrel among the rest, fled different ways; until the fright being a little over, some of them returned; and causing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous manner to Winchester, where it was buried the next day without solemnity; and which is worse, without grief.

I shall conclude the history of this prince's reign, with a description and character of his body and mind, impartially, from the collections I have made; which method I shall observe likewise in all the succeeding reigns.

He was in stature somewhat below the usual size, and big-bellied; but he was well and strongly knit. His hair was yellow or sandy; his face red, which

got

got him the name of Rufus; his forehead flat; his eyes were spotted, and appeared of different colours; he was apt to stutter in speaking, especially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good constitution of health, and the frequent exercise of hunting; in his dress he affected gayety and expense, which having been first introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom, grew, in succeeding reigns, an intolerable grievance. He also first brought in among us the luxury and profusion of great tables. There was in him, as in all other men, a mixture of virtues and vices, and that in a pretty equal degree; only the misfortune was, that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent than the former. For, being entirely a man of pleasure, this made him sacrifice all his good qualities, and gave him too many occasions of producing his ill ones. He had one very singular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promise: he was of undoubted personal valour, whereof the writers in those ages produce several instances; nor did he want skill and conduct in the process of war. But, his peculiar excellency, was that of great dispatch; which, however usually decried, and allowed to be only a happy temerity, does often answer all the ends of secrecy and counsel in a great commander, by surprising and daunting an enemy when he least expects it; as may appear by the greatest actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of sound natural sense, as well as of wit and humour, upon occasion. There were several tenets in the Romish church he could not digest;

gest; particularly that of the saints' intercession; and living in an age overrun with superstition, he went so far into the other extreme, as to be censured for an atheist. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream, which seemed to forebode him some misfortune, the king being told the matter, turned it into a jest; said, The man was a monk, and dreamt like a monk, for lucre sake; and therefore commanded Fitzhamon to give him a hundred shillings, that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpose.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for, being of a sanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleasures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expenses. To supply these, the people were perpetually oppressed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that sort of avarice which arises from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, so it is much more ravenous and violent than the other; which put the king and his evil instruments (among whom Ralph, bishop of Durham, is of special infamy) upon those pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppression; whereof some are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

He is generally taxed by writers for discovering a contempt of religion in his common discourse and behaviour; which I take to have risen from the same fountain, being a point of art, and a known expedient for men who cannot quit their immoralities, at least to banish all reflection that may disturb them in the enjoyment, which must be done either by not thinking of religion at all; or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance.

Yet

Yet there is one instance that might show him to have some sense of religion as well as justice. When two monks were outvying each other in canting the price of an abbey, he observed a third at some distance, who said never a word; the king demanded why he would not offer; the monk said, he was poor, and besides, would give nothing if he were ever so rich; the king replied, then you are the fittest person to have it, and immediately gave it him. But this is, perhaps with reason enough, assigned more to caprice than conscience; for he was under the power of every humour and passion that possessed him for the present; which made him obstinate in his resolves, and unsteady in the prosecution.

He had one vice or folly that seemed rooted in his mind, and of all others, most unbefitting a prince: This was a proud disdainful manner, both in his words and gesture: and having already lost the love of his subjects by his avarice and oppression, this finished the work, by bringing him into contempt and hatred among his servants, so that few among the worst of princes have had the luck to be so ill-beloved, or so little lamented.

He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the state, although not for the sex.

He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of Christ 1100, August 2.

His works of piety were few, but in buildings he was very expensive, exceeding any king of England before or since; among which Westminster-Hall, Windsor castle, the tower of London, and the whole city of Carlisle, remain lasting monuments of his magnificence.

THE

THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE FIRST.

THIS prince was the youngest son of William the Conqueror, and bred to more learning than was usual in that age, or to his rank, which got him the surname of Beauclerc; the reputation whereof, together with his being born in England, and born son of a king, although of little weight in themselves, did very much strengthen his pretensions with the people. Besides, he had the same advantage of his brother Robert's absence, which had proved before so successful to Rufus; whose treasures he likewise seized on immediately at his death, after the same manner, and for the same end, as Rufus did those of his father the Conqueror. Robert had been now five years absent in the holy war, where he acquitted himself with great glory; and although he was now in Apulia, upon his return homeward, yet the nobles pretending not to know what was become of him, and others giving out that he had been elected king of Jerusalem, Henry laid hold of the occasion, and calling together an assembly of the clergy, nobles, and people of the realm, at London, upon his promises to restore king Edward's laws, and redress the grievances which had been introduced by his father and brother, they consented to elect him king. Immediately after his coronation, he proceeded upon reforming the abuses of the late reign: he banished dissolute persons from the court, who had long infested it under the protection and example of Rufus: he restored

restored the people to the use of lights in the night, which the Conqueror had forbidden, after a certain hour, by the ringing of a bell. Then he published his charter, and ordered a copy thereof to be taken for every county in England. This charter was in substance; The freedom of mother church from former oppressions; leave to the heirs of nobles to succeed in the possession of their lands, without being obliged to redeem them, only paying to the king a moderate relief; abolition of fines for licence of marriage to their heiresses; a promise of not refusing such licence, unless the match proposed be with the king's enemy *, &c.; the next of kin to be guardians of the lands of orphans; punishments for coiners of false money; a confirmation of St. Edward's laws; and a general amnesty.

About the same time he performed two acts of justice, which, by gratifying the revenge and the love of the people, gained very much upon their affections to his person: the first was, to imprison Ralph bishop of Durham; who having been raised by the late king from a mean and sordid birth, to be his prime confident and minister, became the chief instrument, as well as contriver, of all his oppressions: the second was, in recalling and restoring archbishop Anselm; who having been forced by the continual persecutions of the same prince, to leave England, had lived ever since in banishment, and deprived of all his revenues.

The king had not been many months on his throne, when the news came that duke Robert, returned from the Holy Land, was received by his subjects with great marks of joy and honour, and in universal reputation for his valour and success against

* I. e. with a traitor or malecontent.

the

the infidels: soon after which, Ralph bishop of Durham, either by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, escaped out of prison, and fled over to the duke; whom he stirred up to renew and solicit his pretensions to the crown of England, by writing to several nobles, who, either through old friendship, or new discontent, or an opinion of his title, gave him promises of their assistance, as soon as he should land in England: but the duke having returned exceeding poor from the Holy Land, was not yet in a condition for such an undertaking, and therefore thought fit to defer it to a more seasonable opportunity.

As the king had hitherto, with great industry, sought all occasions to gratify his people, so he continued to do in the choice of a wife. This was Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the late king of Scots; a lady of great piety and virtue; who, by the power or persuasion of her friends, was prevailed with to leave her cloister for a crown, after she had, as some writers report, already taken the veil. Her mother was sister to Edgar Atheling, the last heir male of the Saxon race; of whom frequent mention has been made in the two preceding reigns: and thus the Saxon line, to the great contentment of the English nation, was again restored.

Duke Robert, having now with much difficulty and oppression of his subjects, raised great forces, and gotten ready a fleet to convey them, resolved once more to assert his title to the crown of England: to which end he had for some time held a secret correspondence with several nobles, and lately received fresh invitations. The king, on the other side, who had received timely intelligence of his brother's preparations,

parations, gave orders to his admirals to watch the seaports, and endeavour to hinder the enemy's landing: but the commanders of several ships, whether Robert had won them by his bribes, or his promises, instead of offering resistance, became his guides, and brought his fleet safe into Portsmouth, where he landed his men; and from thence marched to Winchester, his army hourly increasing by great numbers of people, who had either an affection for his person, an opinion of his title, or hatred to the king. In the mean time Henry advanced with his forces, to be near the duke, and observe his motions; but, like a wise general, forbore offering battle to an invader, until he might do it with manifest advantage. Besides, he knew very well that his brother was a person whose policy was much inferiour to his valour, and therefore to be sooner overcome in a treaty than a fight: to this end, the nobles on both sides began to have frequent interviews; to make overtures; and at last concert the terms of a peace; but wholly to the advantage of the king, Robert renouncing his pretensions in consideration of a small pension, and of succeeding to the crown on default of male issue in his brother.

The defection of nobles and other people to the duke was so great, that men generally thought if it had come to a battle, the king would have lost both the victory and his crown. But Robert, upon his return to Normandy after this dishonourable peace, grew out of all reputation with the world, as well as into perfect hatred and contempt among his own subjects, which in a short time was the cause of his ruin.

The

The king having thus, by his prudence, got rid of a dangerous and troublesome rival, and soon after by his valour quelled the insurrections of the earls of Shrewsbury and Mortain, whom he forced to fly into Normandy, found himself in full peace at home and abroad, and therefore thought he might venture a contention with the church about the right of investing bishops; upon which subject many other princes at that time had controversy with their clergy: but, after long struggling in vain, were all forced to yield at last to the decree of a synod in Rome, and to the pertinacy of the bishops in the several countries. The form of investing a bishop was, by delivery of a ring and a pastoral staff; which, at Rome, was declared unlawful to be performed by any lay hand whatsoever; but the princes of Christendom pleaded immemorial custom to authorize them: and king Henry, having given the investiture to certain bishops, commanded Anselm to consecrate them. This the archbishop refused with great firmness, pursuant to what he understood to be his duty, and to several immediate commands of the pope. Both sides adhering to their own sentiments, the matter was carried to Rome, where Anselm went in person, by the king's desire; who, at the same time, sent ambassadors thither to assert and defend his cause; but the pope still insisting, Anselm was forbidden to return to England. The king seized on all his revenues, and would not restore him, until, upon other concessions of the pope, Henry was content to yield up his pretensions to the investiture; but, however, kept the right of electing still in his own hands.

Whatever might have been the method of electing bishops, in the more primitive ages, it seems plain to me that in these times, and somewhat before, although the election was made *per clerum & populum*; yet the king always nominated at first, or approved afterward, and generally both, as may be seen by the style in which their elections ran, as well as by the persons chosen, who were usually churchmen of the court, or in some employment near the king. But, whether this were a gradual encroachment of the regal upon the spiritual power, I would rather leave others to dispute.

1104. About this time duke Robert came to England, upon a visit to the king, where he was received with much kindness and hospitality; but, at the same time, the queen had private directions to manage his easy temper, and work him to a consent of remitting his pension: this was compassed without much difficulty: but, upon the duke's return to Normandy, he was severely reproved for his weakness by Ralph bishop of Durham, and the two earls of Mortain and Shrewsbury. These three having fled from England for rebellion, and other treasons, lived exiles in Normandy; and bearing an inveterate hatred to the king, resolved to stir up the duke to a resentment of the injury and fraud of his brother. Robert, who was various in his nature, and always under the power of the present persuader, easily yielded to their incitements: reproached the king in bitter terms, by letters and messages, that he had cozened and circumvented him; demanding satisfaction, and withal threatening revenge. At the same time, by the advice of the three nobles already

already mentioned, he began to arm himself as formidably as he could, with the design to seize upon the king's possessions in Normandy; but as this resolution was rashly taken up, so it was as faintly pursued, and ended in his destruction: neither has any prince reason to expect better fortune, that engages in a war against a powerful neighbour upon the counsel or instigation of exiles, who having no farther view than to serve their private interest, or gratify their revenge, are sure to succeed in one or t'other, if they can embark princes in their quarrel, whom they fail not to incite by the falsest representations of their own strength, and the weakness of their enemy: for, as the king was now settled in his throne too firmly to be shaken, so Robert had wholly lost all credit and friendship in England; was sunk in reputation at home; and by his unlimited profuseness, reduced so low, that, having pawned most of his dominions, he had offered Rouen, his
1105 capital city, in sale to the inhabitants. All this was very well known to the king, who, resolving to make his advantage thereof, pretended to be highly provoked at the disgraceful speeches and menaces of his brother; which he made the formal occasion of a quarrel: therefore he first sent over some forces to ravage his country; and understanding that the duke was coldly supported by his own subjects, many of whom came over to the king's army, he soon followed in person with more; took several towns; and placing garrisons therein, came back to England, designing with the first pretext or opportunity to return with a more potent army, and wholly subdue the duchy to his obedience.

Robert, now grown sensible of his weakness, became wholly dispirited; and following his brother into England, in a most dejected manner begged for a peace: but the king, now fully determined upon his ruin, turned away in disdain, muttering at the same time some threatening words. This indignity roused up once more the sinking courage of the duke; who, with bitter words, detesting the pride and insolence of Henry, withdrew in a rage, and hasting back to Normandy, made what preparations he could for his own defence. The king observing his nobles very ready to engage with him in this expedition; and being assured that those in Normandy would, upon his approach, revolt from the duke, soon followed with a mighty army, and the flower of his kingdom. Upon his arrival he was attended, according to his expectation, by several Norman lords; and, with this formidable force, sat down before Tinchebray: the duke, accompanied by the two exiled earls, advanced with what strength he had, in hopes to draw the enemy from the siege of so important a place, although at the hazard of a battle. Both armies being drawn out in battalia, that of the king's, trusting to their
1106 numbers, began the charge with great fury, but without any order. The duke, with forces far inferiour, received the enemy with much firmness; and, finding they had spent their first heat, advanced very regularly against their main body, before they could recover themselves from the confusion they were in. He attacked them with so much courage, that he broke their whole body, and they began to fly on every side. The king believing all was lost, did what he could by threats and gentle

gentle words to stop the flight of his men, but found it impossible: then he commanded two bodies of horse, which were placed on either wing, to join, and wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear. The duke, who thought himself so near a victory, was forced to stop his pursuit; and ordering his men to face about, began the fight anew; mean time the scattered parts of the main body, which had so lately fled, began to rally, and pour in upon the Normans behind, by which duke Robert's army was almost encompassed; yet they kept their ground awhile, and made several charges, until at length, perfectly overborn by numbers, they were utterly defeated. There duke Robert, doing all the parts of a great captain, was taken prisoner, together with the earl of Mortain, and almost his whole army: for being hemmed in on all sides, few of them could make their escape. Thus, in the space of forty years, Normandy subdued England, and England Normandy; which are events perhaps hardly to be parallelled in any other ages or parts of the world. 1107

The king, having staid awhile to settle the state of Normandy, returned with his brother into England, whom he sent prisoner to Cardiff castle, with orders that he should be favourably used, which, for some time, were duly observed; until being accused of attempting to make his escape (whether it were real or feigned) he had his eyes put out with a burning basin, by the king's express commands; in which miserable condition he lived for six and twenty years.

It is believed the king would hardly have engaged in this unnatural and invidious war, with so little

pretence or provocation, if the pope had not openly approved and sanctified his cause, exhorting him to it as a meritorious action; which seems to have been but an ill return from the vicar of CHRIST, to a prince who had performed so many brave exploits for the service of the church, to the hazard of his person, and ruin of his fortune. But the very bigotted monks, who have left us their accounts of those times, do generally agree in heavily taxing the Roman court for bribery and corruption. And the king had promised to remit his right of investing bishops, which he performed immediately after his reduction of Normandy, and was a matter of much more service to the pope than all the achievements of duke Robert in the Holy Land; whose merits, as well as pretensions, were now antiquated and out of date.

1109. About this time the emperor Henry V sent to desire Maude the king's daughter in marriage, who was then a child about eight years old: that prince had lately been embroiled in a quarrel with the see of Rome, which began upon the same subject of investing bishops, but was carried to great extremities: for, invading Italy with a mighty army, he took the pope prisoner, forced him to yield to whatever terms he thought fit to impose, and to take an oath of fidelity to him between his hands: however, as soon as Henry had withdrawn his forces, the pope assembling a council, revoked all his concessions, as extorted by compulsion, and raised great troubles in Germany against the emperor, who, in order to secure himself, sought this alliance with the king.

About

About this time likewise died archbishop Anselm, a prelate of great piety and learning; whose zeal for the see of Rome, as well as for his own rights and privileges, should in justice be imputed to the errours of the time, and not of the man. After his death, the king, following the steps of his brother, held the see vacant five years, contenting himself with an excuse, which looked like a jest, That he only waited until he could find another so good a man as Anselm.

In the fourteenth year of this king's reign, the Welsh, after their usual manner, invaded the Marches with great fury and destruction; but the king, hoping to put a final end to those perpetual troubles and vexations given to his kingdom by that unquiet people, went in person against them with a powerful army; and to prevent their usual stratagem of retreating to their woods and mountains, and other fastnesses, he ordered the woods to be cut down, beset all their places of security, and hunting them like wild beasts, made so terrible a slaughter, that at length observing them to fling down their arms, and beg for quarter, he commanded his soldiers to forbear; then receiving their submissions, and placing garrisons where he thought necessary, he returned, in great triumph and satisfaction, to London.

1114. The princess Maude being now marriageable, was delivered to the emperor's ambassador; and for a portion to the young lady a tax was imposed of three shillings upon every hide of land in England, which grew afterward into a custom, and was in succeeding times confirmed by acts of parliament, under the name of "Reasonable Aid for mar-

" rying the King's Daughter," although levied after a different manner.

As the institution of parliaments in England is agreed by several writers to be owing to this king, so the date of the first has been assigned by some to the fifteenth year of his reign: which however is not to be affirmed with any certainty: for great councils were convoked not only in the two preceding reigns, but for time immemorial by the Saxon princes, who first introduced them into this island, from the same original with the other Gothick forms of government in most parts of Europe. These councils or assemblies were composed according to the pleasure of the prince who convened them, generally of nobles and bishops, sometimes were added some considerable commoners; but they seldom met, except in the beginning of a reign, or in times of war, until this king came to the crown; who being a wise and popular prince, called these great assemblies upon most important affairs of his reign, and ever followed their advice; which, if it proved successful, the honour and advantage redounded to him; and if otherwise, he was free from the blame: thus when he chose a wife for himself, and a husband for his daughter, when he designed his expedition against Robert, and even for the election of an archbishop to the see of Canterbury, he proceeded wholly by the advice of such general assemblies, summoned for the purpose. But the style of these conventions, as delivered by several authors, is very various; sometimes it is *comites, barones, et cleri* *; his marriage was agreed on, *consilio majorum natu et magnatum terræ*. One author † calls it *consilium*

* Brompton. † Polydore Virgil.

principium,

principium, sacerdotum, et reliqui populi. And for the election of an archbishop, the Saxon Chronicle says, That he commanded by letters all bishops, abbots, and thanes, to meet him at Gloucester, *ad procerum conventum.* Lastly, some affirm these assemblies to have been an imitation of the three estates in Normandy. I am very sensible how much time and pains have been employed by several learned men to search out the original of parliaments in England, wherein I doubt they have little satisfied others or themselves. I know likewise that to engage in the same inquiry, would neither suit my abilities nor my subject. It may be sufficient for my purpose, if I be able to give some little light into this matter, for the curiosity of those who are less informed.

The institution of a state or commonwealth out of a mixture of the three forms of government received in the schools, however it be derided as a solecism and absurdity by some late writers on politicks, has been very ancient in the world, and is celebrated by the gravest authors of antiquity. For, although the supreme power cannot properly be said to be divided, yet it may be so placed in three several hands, as each to be a check upon the other; or formed into a balance, which is held by him that has the executive power, with the nobility and people in counterpoise in each scale. Thus the kingdom of Media is represented by Xenophon before the reign of Cyrus; so Polybius tells us, the best government is a mixture of the three forms, *regno, optimatium, et populi imperio:* the same was that of Sparta in its primitive institution by Lycurgus, made up of *reges, seniores, et populus*; the like may be asserted of Rome, Carthage, and other states:

and

and the Germans of old fell upon the same model, from whence the Goths their neighbours, with the rest of those northern people, did perhaps borrow it. But an assembly of the three estates is not properly of Gothick institution; for these fierce people, when upon the decline of the Roman empire they first invaded Europe, and settled so many kingdoms in Italy, Spain, and other parts, were all heathens; and when a body of them had fixed themselves in a tract of land left desolate by the flight or destruction of the natives, their military government, by time and peace, became civil; the general was king, his great officers were his nobles and ministers of state, and the common soldiers the body of the people; but these were freemen, and had smaller portions of land assigned them. The remaining natives were all slaves; the nobles were a standing council; and upon affairs of great importance, the freemen were likewise called by their representatives to give their advice. By which it appears, that the Gothick frame of government consisted at first but of two states or assemblies, under the administration of a single person. But, after the conversion of these princes and their people to the Christian faith, the church became endowed with great possessions, as well by the bounty of kings, as the arts and industry of the clergy, winning upon the devotion of their new converts: and power, by the common maxim, always accompanying property, the ecclesiasticks began soon to grow considerable, to form themselves into a body, and to call assemblies or synods by their own authority, or sometimes by the command of their princes, who, in an ignorant age, had a mighty veneration for their learning as well

well as piety. By such degrees the church arrived at length, by very justifiable steps, to have her share in the commonwealth, and became a third estate in most kingdoms of Europe; but these assemblies, as we have already observed, were seldom called in England before the reign of this prince, nor even then were always composed after the same manner: neither does it appear from the writers who lived nearest to that age, that the people had any representative at all, beside the barons and other nobles, who did not sit in those assemblies by virtue of their birth or creation, but of the lands or baronies they held. So that the present constitution of the English parliament has, by many degrees and alterations, been modelled to the frame it is now in; which alterations I shall observe in the succeeding reigns, as exactly as I can discover them by a diligent search into the histories of the several ages, without engaging in the controverted points of law about this matter, which would rather perplex the reader than inform him.

1116. But to return: Lewis the Gross king of France, a valiant and active prince, in the flower of his age, succeeding to that crown that Robert was deprived of, Normandy, grew jealous of the neighbourhood and power of king Henry; and began early to entertain designs either of subduing that duchy to himself, or at least of making a considerable party against the king, in favour of William son of Robert, whom for that end he had taken into his protection. Pursuant to these intentions, he soon found an occasion for a quarrel, expostulating with Henry, that he had broken his promise, by not doing homage for the duchy of Normandy, as well

well as by neglecting to raze the castle of Gisors, which was built on the French side of the river Epte, the common boundary between both dominions.

But an incident soon offered, which gave king Henry a pretext for retaliating almost in the same manner: for it happened that upon some offence taken against his nephew Theobald count of Blois by the French king, Lewis in great rage sent an army to invade and ravage the earl's territories. Theobald defended himself for a while with much valour; but at length in danger to be overpowered, requested aid of his uncle the king of England, who supported him so effectually with men and money, that he was able, not only to defend his own country, but very much to infest and annoy his enemy. Thus a war was kindled between the two kings; Lewis now openly asserted the title of William the son of Robert, and entering into an alliance with the earls of Flanders and Anjou, began to concert measures for driving king Henry out of Normandy.

The king having timely intelligence of his enemy's designs, began, with great vigour and dispatch, to prepare for war: he raised, with much difficulty and discontent of his people, the greatest tax that had ever been known in England; and passing over into Normandy with a mighty army, joined his nephew Theobald. The king of France, who had entertained hopes that he should overrun the duchy before his enemy could arrive, advanced with great security toward the frontiers of Normandy; but observing an enemy of equal number and force already prepared to engage him, he sud-

denly stopped his march. The two armies faced one another for some hours, neither side offering battle; the rest of the day was spent in light skirmishes begun by the French, and repeated for some days following with various success; but the remainder of the year passed without any considerable action.

1119. At length the violence of the two princes brought it to a battle: for Lewis, to give a reputation to his arms, advanced toward the frontiers of Normandy, and after a short siege took Gué Nicaise*; there the king met him, and the fight began, which continued with great obstinacy on both sides for nine hours. The French army was divided into two bodies, and the English into three; by which means, that part where the king fought in person, being attacked by a superiour number, began to give way; and William Crispin, a Norman baron, singling out the king of England (whose subject he had been, but banished for treason) struck him twice in the head with so much violence, that the blood gushed out of his mouth. The king, inflamed with rage and indignation, dealt such furious blows, that he struck down several of his enemies, and Crispin among the rest, who was taken prisoner at his horse's feet. The soldiers, encouraged by the valour of their prince, rallied, and fell on with fresh vigour; and the victory seemed doubtful, when William the son of king Henry, to whom his father had entrusted the third body of his army, which had not yet engaged, fell on with this fresh reserve upon the enemy, who was already very much harrassed with the toil of the day: this quickly de-

* At that time reckoned an important fortress on the river Epte.

cided

cided the matter; for the French, though valiantly fighting, were overcome, with the slaughter of several thousand men; their king quitted the field, and withdrew to Andely; but the king of England recovering Gué Nicaise, returned triumphant to Rouen.

This important victory was followed by the defection of the earl of Anjou to king Henry, and the earl of Flanders fell in the battle; by which the king of France was at once deprived of two powerful allies. However, by the intercession of the former, a peace was soon after made between both crowns. William the king's son did homage to Lewis for the dukedom of Normandy; and the other William, following the fortunes of his father, was left to his pretensions and complaints.

It is here observable, that from this time, until Wales was subdued to the English crown, the eldest sons of England were called dukes of Normandy, as they are now princes of Wales.

1120. The king having staid some time in Normandy, for the settlement of his duchy after the calamities and confusions of a war, returned to England, to the very great satisfaction of his people and himself. He had enlarged his dominions by the conquest of Normandy; he had subdued all his competitors, and forced even the king of France, their great protector, after a glorious victory, to his own conditions of a peace; he was upon very good terms with the pope, who had a great esteem and friendship for his person, and made him larger concessions than was usual from that see, and in those ages. At home he was respected by the clergy, reverenced by the nobles, and beloved by the people;

in

in his family he was blessed with a son of much hopes, just growing to years of manhood, and his daughter was an empress; so that he seemed to possess as great a share of happiness as human life is capable to admit. But the felicity of man depends upon a conjunction of many circumstances, which are all subject to various accidents, and every single accident is able to dissolve the whole contexture; which truth was never verified more than in this prince; who, by one domestick misfortune not to be prevented or foreseen, found all the pleasure and content he proposed to himself by his prudence, his industry, and his valour, wholly disappointed and destroyed: for William, the young prince, having embarked at Barfleur some time after his father, the mariners being all drunk, suffered the ship to run upon a rock, where it was dashed to pieces: the prince made a shift to get into the boat, and was making to the shore, until forced back by the cries of his sister, whom he received into the boat; so many others crowded in at the same time, that it was immediately overturned. There perished, beside the prince, a natural son and daughter of the king's, his niece, and many other persons of quality, together with all their attendants and servants, to the number of a hundred and forty, beside fifty mariners; but one person escaping.

Although the king survived this cruel misfortune many years, yet he could never recover his former humour, but grew melancholy and morose; however, in order to provide better for the peace and settlement of the kingdom after his death, about five months after the loss of his son, his former queen having died three years before, he married Adelais,

Adelais, a beautiful young lady of the family of Lorrain *, in hopes of issue by her; but never had any.

The death of the prince gave occasion to some new troubles in Normandy; for the earls of Meulant and Evreux, Hugh de Montfort, and other associates, began to raise insurrections there, which were thought to be privately fomented by the French king, out of enmity to king Henry, and in favour of William the son of Robert, to whom the earl of Anjou had lately given his daughter 1124
in marriage. But William of Tankerville, the king's lieutenant in Normandy, surprising the enemy's forces by an ambush, intirely routed them, took both the earls prisoners, and sent one of them (Meulant) to his master; but the count d'Evreux made his escape.

1126. King Henry having now lost hope of issue by his new queen, brought with him, on his return to England, his daughter Maude; who, by the emperor's death, had been lately left a widow and childless; and in a parliament or general assembly which he had summoned at Windsor, he caused the crown to be settled on her and her issue, and made all his nobles take a solemn oath to defend her title. This was performed by none with so much forwardness as Stephen earl of Boulogne, who was observed to show a more than ordinary zeal in the matter. This young lord was the king's nephew, being second son of the earl of Blois by Adela the Conqueror's daughter: he was in high favour with

* She was daughter of Godfrey duke of Louvain, or the Lower Lorrain.

the

the king his uncle, who had married him to the daughter and heiress of the earl of Boulogne, given him great possessions in England, and made him indeed too powerful for a subject.

The king having thus fixed the succession of the crown in his daughter by an act of settlement and an oath of fealty, looked about to provide her with a second husband, and at length determined his choice in Geoffry Plantagenet earl of Anjou, the son of Fulk lately deceased.

This prince, whose dominions confined on France and Normandy, was usually courted for an ally by both kings in their several quarrels; but having little faith or honour, he never scrupled to change sides as often as he saw or conceived it for his advantage. After the great victory over the French, he closed in with king Henry, and gave his daughter to the young prince William; yet at the same time, by the private encouragement of Lewis, he prevailed on the king of England to be easy in the conditions of a peace. Upon the unfortunate loss of the prince, and the troubles in Normandy thereupon, he fell again from the king, gave his other daughter to William the son of Robert, and struck up with France to take that prince again into protection. But dying soon after, and leaving his son Geoffry to succeed in that earldom, the king was of opinion he could not any where bestow his daughter with more advantage, both for the security and enlargement of his dominions, than by giving her to this earl; by which marriage Anjou would become an acquisition to Normandy, and this be a more equal match to so formidable a neighbour as France. In a short time the marriage was concluded; and this earl

Geoffry had the honour to introduce into the royal family of England the surname of Plantagenet, born by so many succeeding kings, which began with Henry II, who was the eldest son of this marriage.

But the king of France was in great discontent at this match: he easily foresaw the dismal consequences to himself and his successors, from such an increase of dominion united to the crown of England: he knew what impressions might be made in future times to the shaking of his throne by an aspiring and warlike king, if they should happen in a weak reign, or upon any great discontents in that kingdom. Which conjectures being highly reasonable (and since often verified by events) he cast about to find some way of driving the king of England intirely out of France; but having neither pretext nor stomach in the midst of a peace to begin an open and formal quarrel, there fell out an accident which gave him plausible occasion of pursuing his design.

Charles the Good earl of Flanders having been lately murdered by some of his subjects, upon private revenge, the king of France went in person to take revenge of the assassins; which he performed with great justice and honour. But the late earl leaving no heir of his body, and several competitors appearing to dispute the succession, Lewis rejected some others who seemed to have a fairer title, and adjudged it to William the son of Robert, the better to secure him to his interests upon any design he might engage in against the king of England. Not content with this, he assisted the earl in person, subdued his rivals, and left him in peaceable possession of his new dominion.

King

King Henry, on the other side, was very apprehensive of his nephew's greatness, well knowing to what end it was directed; however, he seemed not to regard it, contenting himself to give the earl employment at home by privately nourishing the discontents of his new subjects, and abetting underhand another pretender: for William had so entirely lost the hearts of his people, by his intolerable avarice and exactions, that the principal towns in Flanders revolted from him, and invited Thierrie earl of Alsace to be their governor. But the king of France generously resolved to appear once more in his defence, and took his third expedition into Flanders for that purpose. He had marched as far as Artois, when he was suddenly recalled to defend his own dominions from the fury of a powerful and provoked invader: for, Henry king of England, moved with indignation to see the French king, in the midst of a peace, so frequently and openly supporting his most dangerous enemy, thought it the best way to divert Lewis from kindling a fire against him abroad, by forcing him to extinguish one at home: he therefore entered into the bowels of France, ravaging and laying waste all before him: and quickly grew so formidable, that the French king, to purchase a peace, was forced to promise never more to assist or favour the earl of Flanders; however, as it fell out, this article proved to be wholly needless; for the young earl soon after gave battle to Thierrie, and put his whole army to the rout; but pursuing his victory, he received a wound in his wrist, which, by the unskilfulness of a surgeon, cost him his life.

This one slight inconsiderable accident, did, in all probability, put a stop to very great events; for, if that young prince had survived his victory, it is hardly to be doubted but through the justness of his cause, the reputation of his valour, and the assistance of the king of France, he would in a little time have recovered Normandy, and perhaps his father's liberty, which were the two designs he had in agitation; nor could he well have missed the crown of England after the king's death, who was now in his decline, when he had so fair a title, and no competitors in view but a woman and an infant.

1129. Upon the king's return from Normandy, a great council of the clergy was held at London, for the punishing of priests who lived in concubinage, which was the great grievance of the church in those ages, and had been condemned by several canons. This assembly thinking to take a more effectual course against that abomination, as it was called, decreed severe penalties upon those who should be guilty of breaking it, intreating the king to see the law put in execution; which he very readily undertook, but performed otherwise than was expected, eluding the force of the law by an evasion to his own advantage: for, exacting fines of the delinquent priests, he suffered them to keep their concubines without farther disturbance; a very unaccountable step in so wise a body for their own concernments, as the clergy of those times is looked upon to have been; and although perhaps the fact be not worth recording, it may serve as a lesson to all assemblies, never to trust the execution of a law in the hands of those, who will find it more to their interests to see it broken than observed.

1132. The

1132. The empress Maude was now happily delivered of a son, who was afterward king of England by the name of Henry the Second: and the king calling a parliament, had the oath of fealty repeated by the nobles and clergy to her and her issue; which, in the compass of three years, they all broke or forgot.

1134. I think it may deserve a place in this history to mention the last scene of duke Robert's life; who, either through the poorness or greatness of spirit, having outlived the loss of his honour, his dominions, his liberty, his eyesight, and his only son, was at last forced to sink under the load of eighty years, and must be allowed for the greatest example either of insensibility, or contempt of earthly things, that ever appeared in a sovereign, or private person. He was a prince hardly equalled by any in his time for valour, conduct, and courtesy; but his ruin began from the easiness of his nature, which whoever knew how to manage, were sure to be refused nothing they could ask. By such profusion he was reduced to those unhappy expedients of remitting his rights for a pension, of pawning his towns, and multiplying taxes, which brought him into hatred and contempt with his subjects; neither do I think any virtue so little commendable in a sovereign, as that of liberality where it exceeds what his ordinary revenues can supply: where it passes those bounds, his subjects must all be oppressed to show his bounty to a few flatterers, or he must sell his towns, or basely renounce his rights, by becoming pensioner to some powerful prince in the neighbourhood; all which we have lived to see per-

formed by a late monarch in our own time and country.

1135. Since the reduction of Normandy to the king's obedience, he found it necessary for his affairs to spend in that duchy some part of his time almost every year; and a little before the death of Robert he made his last voyage there. It was observable in this prince, that having some years past very narrowly escaped shipwreck in his passage from Normandy into England, the sense of his danger had made very deep impressions on his mind; which he discovered by a great reformation in his life, by redressing several grievances, and doing many acts of piety; and to show the steadiness of his resolutions, he kept them to the last, making a progress through most parts of Normandy, treating his subjects in all places with great familiarity and kindness, granting their petitions, easing their taxes, and in a word, giving all possible marks of a religious, wise, and gracious prince.

Returning to St. Denys le Forment from his progress a little indisposed, he there fell into a fever upon a surfeit of lamprey, which in a few days ended his life. His body was conveyed to England, and buried at Reading in the abbey-church himself had founded.

It is hard to affirm any thing peculiar of this prince's character; those authors who have attempted it mentioning very little but what was common to him with thousands of other men; neither have they recorded any of those personal circumstances or passages, which only can discover such qualities of the mind as most distinguish one man from another. These defects may perhaps appear in the

the stories of many succeeding kings; which makes me hope I shall not be altogether blamed for sometimes disappointing the reader in a point wherein I could wish to be the most exact.

As to his person, he is described to be of middle stature; his body strong-set and fleshy; his hair black; his eyes large; his countenance amiable, and very pleasant, especially when he was merry. He was temperate in meat and drink, and a hater of effeminacy; a vice or folly much complained of in his time, especially that circumstance of long artificial hair, which he forbad upon severe penalties. His three principal virtues were prudence, valour, and eloquence. These were counterbalanced by three great vices; avarice, cruelty, and lust; of which the first is proved by the frequency of his taxes; the second, by his treatment of duke Robert; and the last, was notorious. But the proof of his virtues does not depend on single instances, manifesting themselves through the whole course of a long reign, which was hardly attended by any misfortune that prudence, justice, or valour could prevent. He came to the crown at a ripe age, when he had passed thirty years; having learned, in his private life, to struggle with hardships, whereof he had his share, from the capriciousness and injustice of both his brothers; and by observing their failures, he had learned to avoid them in himself; being steady and uniform in his whole conduct, which were qualities they both seemed chiefly to want. This likewise made him so very tenacious as he was observed to be in his love and hatred. He was a strict observer of justice, which he seems never to have violated, but in that particular case, which political casuists are pleased to dispense with, where

the dispute is about a crown: In that he † * * * * * * * *

Consider him as a private man, he was perhaps the most accomplished person of his age; having a facetious wit, cultivated by learning, and advanced with a great share of natural eloquence, which was his peculiar talent: and it was no doubt the sense he had of this last perfection in himself, that put him so often upon calling together the great councils of the nation, where natural oratory is of most figure as well as use.

THE REIGN OF

STEPHEN.

THE veneration which people are supposed naturally to pay to a right line, and a lawful title in their kings, must be upheld by a long uninterrupted succession, otherwise it quickly loses opinion, upon which the strength of it, although not the justice, is entirely founded: and where breaches have been already made in the lineal descent, there is little security in a good title (though confirmed by promises and oaths) where the lawful heir is absent, and a popular aspiring pretender near at hand. This, I think, may pass for a maxim, if any consequences drawn from history can pretend to be called so, having been verified successively three times in this kingdom, I mean by the two preceding kings, and by the prince whose reign we are now writing. Neither can

† Here the sentence breaks off short, and is left unfinished.

this

this observation be justly controlled by any instances brought of future princes, who being absent at their predecessor's death, have peaceably succeeded, the circumstances being very different in every case, either by the weakness or justice of pretenders, or else by the long establishment of lineal succession.

1135. Stephen earl of Boulogne, whose descent has been already shown in the foregoing reign, was the second of three brothers, whereof the eldest was Theobald earl of Blois, a sovereign prince, and Henry the youngest was bishop of Winchester, and the pope's legate in England. At the time of king Henry's death, his daughter the empress was with her husband the earl of Anjou, a grave and cautious prince, altogether unqualified for sudden enterprises: but earl Stephen, who had attended the king in his last expedition, made so great dispatch for England *, that the council had not time to meet and make any declaration about a successor. When the lords were assembled, the legate had already, by his credit and influence among them, brought over a great party to his brother's interests; and the earl himself, knowing with what success the like methods were used by his two last predecessors, was very liberal of his promises to amend the laws, support the church, and redress grievances: for all which the bishop undertook to be guarantee. And thus was Stephen elected by those very persons who had so lately, and in so solemn a manner, more than once sworn fealty to another.

The motives whereby the nobility was swayed to proceed after this manner, were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual struggle between them and their former kings in the defence of their liberties; for the

* Stephen was at Boulogne when he received the news of Henry's death.

security

security whereof, they thought a king elected without other title, would be readier to enter into any obligations, and being held in constant dependance, would be less tempted to break them: therefore, as at his coronation they obtained full security by his taking new and additional oaths in favour of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but conditional, to be of force no longer than he should be true to those stipulations.

But other reasons were contrived and given out to satisfy the people: they were told it was an indignity for so noble a nation to be governed by a woman; that the late king had promised to marry his daughter within the realm, and by consent of parliament, neither of which was observed: and lastly, Hugh Bigod, steward to king Henry, took a voluntary oath, before the archbishop of Canterbury, that his master, in his last sickness, had, upon some displeasure, disinherited his daughter.

He received the crown with one great advantage that could best enable him to preserve it: this was the possession of his uncle's treasures, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds, and reckoned as a prodigious sum in those days; by the help of which, without ever raising one tax upon the people, he defended an unjust title against the lawful heir during a perpetual contest of almost twenty years.

In order to defend himself against any sudden invasion, which he had cause enough to expect, he gave all men licence to build castles upon their lands; which proved a very mistaken piece of politicks, although grounded upon some appearance of reason. The king supposed that no invader would venture to advance into the heart of his country, without re-

ducing every castle in his way; which must be a work of much time and difficulty, nor would be able to afford men to block them up, and secure his retreat: which way of arguing may be good enough to a prince of an undisputed title, and entirely in the hearts of his subjects: but, numerous castles are ill defenders of an usurpation, being the common retreat of malecontents, where they can fly with security, and discover their affections as they please: by which means, the enemy, although beaten in the field, may still preserve his footing in the bowels of a country; may wait supplies from abroad, and prolong a war for many years: nor, while he is master of any castles, can he ever be at mercy by any sudden misfortune; but may be always in a condition of demanding terms for himself. These, and many other effects of so pernicious a counsel, the king found through the whole course of his reign; which was entirely spent in sieges, revolts, surprises, and surrenders, with very few battles, but no decisive action: a period of much misery and confusion, which affords little that is memorable for events, or useful for the instruction of posterity.

1136. The first considerable enemy that appeared against him was David king of Scots; who having taken the oath of fealty to Maude and her issue, being farther engaged by the ties of blood, and stirred up through the persuasions of several English nobles, began to take up arms in her cause; and invading the northern parts, took Carlisle and Newcastle; but, upon the king's speedy approach with his forces, a peace was presently made, and the towns restored. However, the Scottish prince would, by no means, renounce his fidelity to the empress, by paying

paying homage to Stephen; so that an expedient was found to have it performed by his eldest son: in consideration of which, the king gave, or rather restored to him, the earldom of Huntington.

Upon his return to London from this expedition, he happened to fall sick of a lethargy, and it was confidently given out that he was dead. This report was, with great industry and artifice, dispersed by his enemies; which quickly discovered the ill inclination of several lords; who, although they never believed the thing, yet made use of it for an occasion or pretext to fortify their castles, which they refused to surrender to the king himself; but Stephen was resolved, as he said, to convince them that he was alive and well; for, coming against them before he was expected, he recovered Exeter, Norwich, and other fortified places, although not without much difficulty.

It is obvious enough to wonder how a prince of so much valour, and other excellent endowments, elected by the church and state, after a compliance with all conditions they could impose on him, and in an age when so little regard was had to the lineal descent, lastly confirmed by the pope himself, should be soon deserted and opposed by those very persons who had been the most instrumental to promote him. But, beside his defective title, and the undistinguished liberty of building castles, there were three circumstances which very much contributed to those perpetual revolts of the nobles against him: first, that upon his coming to the crown he was very liberal in distributing lands and honours to several young gentlemen of noble birth, who came to make their court, whereby he hoped to get the reputation of

of a generous prince, and to strengthen his party against the empress: but, by this encouragement, the number of pretenders quickly grew too fast upon him; and when he had granted all he was able, he was forced to dismiss the rest with promises and excuses; who, either out of envy or discontent, or else to mend their fortunes, never failed to become his enemies upon the first occasion that offered. Secondly, when he had reduced several castles and towns which had given the first example of defection from him, he hardly inflicted the least punishment on the authors; which unseasonable mercy, that in another prince, and another age, would have been called greatness of spirit, passed in him for pusillanimity and fear, and is reckoned, by the writers of those times, to have been the cause of many succeeding revolts. The third circumstance was of a different kind: for, observing how little good effect he had found by his liberality and indulgence, he would needs try the other extreme, which was not his talent. He began to infringe the articles of his charter; to recall or disown the promises he had made; and to repulse petitioners with rough treatment; which was the more unacceptable, by being new and unexpected.

1137. Mean time the earl of Anjou, who was not in a condition to assert his wife's title to England, hearing Stephen was employed at home, entered Normandy with small force, and found it no difficult matter to seize several towns. The Normans, in the present distraction of affairs, not well knowing what prince to obey, at last sent an invitation to Theobald earl of Blois, king Stephen's eldest brother, to accept their dukedom, upon the condition

condition of protecting them from the present insults of the earl of Anjou. But, before this matter could come to an issue, Stephen, who upon reduction of the towns already mentioned, had found a short interval of quiet from his English subjects, arrived with unexpected speed in Normandy; where Geoffry of Anjou soon fled before him, and the whole duchy came over to his obedience; for the farther settlement whereof, he made peace with the king of France; constituted his son Eustace duke of Normandy, and made him swear fealty to that prince, and do him homage. His brother Theobald, who began to expostulate upon this disappointment, he pacified with a pension of two thousand marks *: and even the earl of Anjou himself, who, in right of his wife, made demands of Stephen for the kingdom of England, finding he was no equal match at present, was persuaded to become his pensioner for five thousand more †.

Stephen, upon his return to England, met with an account of new troubles from the north; for the king of Scots, under pretence of observing his oath of fealty to the empress, infested the borders, and frequently making cruel inroads, plundered and laid waste all before him.

1138. In order to revenge this base and perfidious treatment, the king, in his march northward, sat down before Bedford, and took it after a siege of twenty days. This town was part of the earldom of

* The mark of Normandy is to be understood here. Such a pension in that age was equivalent to one of £. 31000 sterling in the present.

† Five thousand marks of silver coin was, in this reign, of the same value as the sum of £. 77500, modern currency, is now. Here again the Normanic mark seems to be used.

Huntington,

Huntington, given by Stephen in the late peace to the eldest son of the Scottish king, for which the young prince did homage to him; and it was upon that account defended by a garrison of Scots. Upon intelligence of this surrender, king David, overcome with fury, entered Northumberland; where, letting loose the rage of his soldiers, he permitted and encouraged them to commit all manner of inhumanities; which they performed in so execrable a manner as would scarce be credible, if it were not attested by almost the universal consent of writers: they ripped up women with child, drew out the infants, and tossed them upon the points of their lances: they murdered priests before the altars; then cutting the heads from off the crucifixes, in their stead put on the heads of those they had murdered: with many other instances of monstrous barbarity too foul to relate *: but cruelty being usually attended with cowardice, this perfidious prince upon the approach of king Stephen fled into places of security. The king of England, finding no enemy on whom to employ his revenge, marched forward into the country, destroying with fire and sword all the southern parts; and would, in all probability, have made terrible impressions into the heart of Scotland, if he had not been suddenly recalled by a more dangerous fire at home, which had been kindled in his absence, and was now broken out into a flame.

Robert earl of Glocester, natural son of the late king, came into England some time after the advancement of Stephen to the crown; and yielding to the necessity of the time, took the oath of fealty upon the same condition used by the other nobles,

* It should be—'too foul to be related.'

to

to be of force so long as the king should keep his faith with him, and preserve his dignity inviolate: but, being in his heart wholly devoted to the interests of the empress his sister, and moved by the persuasions of several religious men, he had, with great secrecy and application, so far practised upon the levity or discontent of several lords, as to gain them to his party: for, the king had, of late, very much alienated the nobles against him; first, by seizing several of their persons, and dispossessing them of their lands; and secondly, by taking into his favour William D'Ypres, a Flemish commander, of noble birth, but banished by his prince. This man, with many of his followers, the king employed chiefly both in his councils and his armies, and made him earl of Kent, to the great envy and displeasure of his English subjects. The earl of Glocester, therefore, and his accomplices, having prepared all things necessary for an insurrection, it was agreed among them, that while the king was engaged against the Scots, each of them should secure what towns and castles they could, and openly declare for the empress. Accordingly earl Robert suddenly fortified himself in Bristol; the rest followed his example; Hereford, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Dover, and many other places, were seized by several lords; and the defection grew so formidable, that the king, to his great grief, was forced to leave his Scottish expedition unfinished, and return with all possible speed to suppress the rebellion begun by his subjects; having first left the care of the north to Thurstan archbishop of York, with orders carefully to observe the motions of the Scots.

Whilst

Whilst the king was employed in the south in reducing his discontented lords, and their castles, to his obedience; David, presuming upon the distance between them, reëntered England with more numerous forces, and greater designs, than before: for, without losing more time than what was necessary to pillage and destroy the country as he marched, he resolved to besiege York; which, if he could force to surrender, would serve as a convenient frontier against the English. To this end, advancing near the city, and having pitched his tents, he sat down before it with his whole army. In the mean time archbishop Thurstan, having already summoned the nobles and gentry of the shire and parts adjacent, had, by powerful persuasions, incited them to defend their country against a treacherous, bloody, and restless enemy: so that before the king of Scotland could make any progress in the siege, the whole power of the north was united against him, under the earl of Albemarle, and several other nobles. Archbishop Thurstan happening to fall sick, could not go in person to the army, but sent the bishop of Durham in his stead; by whose encouragements the English, although in number far inferiour, advanced boldly toward the enemy, and offered them battle; which was as readily accepted by the Scots: who, sending out a party of horse to secure the rising ground, were immediately attacked by the English, and after a sharp dispute entirely defeated. In the heat of the battle, the king of Scots, and his son Henry earl of Huntington, gave many proofs of great personal valour. The young prince fell with such fierceness upon a body of the English, that he utterly broke and dispersed them;

and was pursuing his victory, when a certain man, bearing aloft the head of an enemy he had cut off, cried out, It was the head of the Scottish king; which being heard and believed on both sides, the English, who had lately fled, rallied again, assaulting their enemies with new vigour; the Scots, on the other side, discouraged by the supposed death of their prince, began to turn their backs: the king and his son used all endeavours to stop their flight, and made several brave stands against the enemy; but the greatest part of their army being fled, and themselves almost encompassed, they were forced to give way to fortune, and with much difficulty made their escape.

The loss on the English side was inconsiderable; but of Scots, by general consent of writers, ten thousand were slain. And thus ended the war of the standard, as it was usually called by the authors of that age; because the English, upon a certain engine, raised the mast of a ship, on the top whereof, in a silver box, they put the consecrated wafer, and fastened the standards of St. Peter and other saints: this gave them courage, by remembering they were to fight in the presence of God: and served likewise for a mark where to reassemble when they should happen to be dispersed by any accident or misfortune.

1139. Mean time the king was equally successful against his rebellious lords at home, having taken most of their castles and strong holds; and the earl of Gloucester himself, no longer able to make any resitance, withdrew into Normandy, to concert new measures with the empress his sister. Thus the king had leisure and opportunity for another expedition

dition into Scotland, to pursue and improve his victory, where he met with no opposition: however, he was at length persuaded with much difficulty to accept his own conditions of a peace; and David delivered up to him his eldest son Henry, as hostage for performance of articles between them.

The king, in his return homeward, laid siege to Ludlow castle, which had not been reduced with the rest: here prince Henry of Scotland, boiling with youth and valour, and exposing his person upon all occasions, was lifted from his horse by an iron grapple let down from the wall, and would have been hoisted up into the castle, if the king had not immediately flown to his assistance, and brought him off with his own hands by main force from the enemy, whom he soon compelled to surrender the castle.

1140. Stephen having thus subdued his inveterate enemies the Scots, and reduced his rebellious nobles, began to entertain hopes of enjoying a little ease. But he was destined to the possession of a crown with perpetual disturbance; for he was hardly returned from his northern expedition, when he received intelligence that the empress, accompanied by her brother the earl of Gloucester, was preparing to come for England, in order to dispute her title to the kingdom. The king, who knew by experience what a powerful party she already had to espouse her interests, very reasonably concluded, the defection from him would be much greater, when she appeared in person to countenance and reward it; he therefore began again to repent of the licence he had granted for building castles, which were now likely to prove so many places of security for his enemies, and fortifications against himself; for he

knew not whom to trust, vehemently suspecting his nobles ever since their last revolt. He therefore cast about for some artifice to get into his hands as many of their castles as he could: in the strength and magnificence of which kind of structures, the bishops had far outdone the rest, and were upon that, as well as other accounts, very much maligned and envied by the temporal lords, who were extremely jealous of the church's increasing power, and glad upon all occasions to see the prelates humbled. The king, therefore, having formed his project, resolved to make trial where it would be least invidious, and where he could foresee least danger in the consequences. At a parliament or assembly of nobles at Oxford, it was contrived to raise a quarrel between the servants of some bishops, and those of Alan count of Dinan in Bretagne, upon a contention of rooms in their inns. Stephen took hold of this advantage, sent for the bishops, taxed them with breaking his peace, and demanded the keys of their castles, adding threats of imprisonment if they dared to disobey. Those whom the king chiefly suspected, or rather who had built the most and strongest castles, were Roger bishop of Salisbury, with his nephew and natural son the bishops of Ely and Lincoln; whom the king, by many circumstances of rigour, compelled to surrender, going himself in person to seize the Devizes, then esteemed the noblest structure of Europe, and built by the forementioned bishop Roger; whose treasure, to the value of forty thousand marks *, there

* This prelate's treasure is doubtless computed by the smaller or Saxon mark; the use of which still prevailed in England: and even thus computed, it amounts to a vast sum, equal to about 116,350*l.* of modern money.

likewise

likewise deposited, fell, at the same time, into the king's hand, which in a few days broke the bishop's heart, already worn with age and infirmity.

It may, perhaps, not be thought a digression to say something of the fortunes of this prelate; who, from the lowest beginnings, came to be, without dispute, the greatest churchman of any subject in his age. It happened that the late king Henry, in the reign of his brother, being at a village in Normandy, wanted a priest to say mass before him and his train; when this man, who was a poor curate thereabouts, offered his service, and performed it with so much dexterity and speed, that the soldiers who attended the prince recommended him to their master, upon that account, as a very proper chaplain for military men. But it seems he had other talents; for having gotten into the prince's service, he soon discovered great application and address, much order and economy in the management of his master's fortunes, which were wholly left to his care. After Henry's advancement to the crown, this chaplain grew chief in his favour and confidence; was made bishop of Salisbury, chancellor of England, employed in all his most weighty affairs, and usually left vicegerent of the realm while the king was absent in Normandy. He was among the first that swore fealty to Maude and her issue; and among the first that revolted from her to Stephen; offering such reasons in council for setting her aside, as, by the credit and opinion of his wisdom, were very prevalent. But the king, in a few years, forgot all obligations, and the bishop fell a sacrifice in his old age to those treasures he had been so heaping up for its support. A just reward for his ingratitude toward

ward the prince that raised him, to be ruined by the ingratitude of another, whom he had been so very instrumental to raise.

But Henry bishop of Winchester, the pope's legate, not able to endure this violation of the church, called a council of all the prelates to meet at Winchester, where the king being summoned, appeared by his advocate, who pleaded his cause with much learning; and the archbishop of Rouen coming to the council, declared his opinion, that although the canons did allow the bishops to possess castles, yet in dangerous times they ought to deliver them up to the king. This opinion Stephen followed very steadily, not yielding a tittle, although the legate his brother used all means, both rough and gentle, to work upon him.

The council of bishops broke up without other effect than that of leaving in their minds an implacable hatred to the king, in a very opportune juncture for the interests of Maude, who, about this time, landed at Portsmouth with her brother Robert earl of Gloucester. The whole force she brought over for this expedition consisted but of one hundred and forty knights; for she trusted altogether in her cause and her friends. With this slender attendance she went to Arundel, and was there received into the castle by the widow of the late king; while earl Robert, accompanied only by twenty men, marched boldly to his own city of Gloucester, in order to raise forces for the empress, where the townsmen turned out the king's garrison as soon as they heard of his approach.

King Stephen was not surprised at the news of the empress's arrival, being a thing he had always counted

counted upon, and was long preparing himself against. He was glad to hear how ill she was provided, and resolved to use the opportunity of her brother's absence; for, hasting down to Arundel with a sufficient strength, he laid siege to the castle, in hopes, by securing her person, to put a speedy end to the war.

But there wanted not some very near about the king, who, favouring the party of Maude, had credit enough to prevail with him not to venture time and reputation against an impregnable fortress; but rather, by withdrawing his forces, permit her to retire to some less fortified place, where she might more easily fall into his hands. This advice the king took against his own opinion; the empress fled out of Arundel by night; and, after frequent shifting her stages through several towns, which had already declared in her favour, fixed herself at last at Lincoln; where, having all things provided necessary for her defence, she resolved to continue, and expect either a general revolt of the English to her side, or the decision of war between the king and her brother.

1141. But Stephen, who had pursued the empress from place to place, hearing she had shut herself up in Lincoln, resolved to give her no rest; and to help on his design, it fell out that the citizens, in hatred to the earl of Chester, who commanded there for the empress, sent a private invitation to the king, with promise to deliver the town and their governor into his hands. The king came accordingly, and possessed himself of the town; but Maude and the earl made their escape a few days before. However, many great persons of Maude's party remained prisoners to the king, and among the rest the earl of Ches-

ter's wife, who was daughter to the earl of Gloucester. These two earls resolving to attempt the relief of their friends, marched with all their forces near Lincoln, where they found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. The next morning, after battle offered by the lords, and accepted by the king, both sides made ready to engage. The king having disposed his cavalry on each wing, placed himself at the head of his foot, in whom he reposed most confidence. The army of the lords was divided in three bodies; those whom king Stephen had banished were placed in the middle, the earl of Chester led the van, and the earl of Gloucester commanded the rear. The battle was fought at first with equal advantage, and great obstinacy on both sides: at length the right wing of the king's horse, pressed by the earl of Chester, gallopped away, not without suspicion of treachery; the left followed the example. The king beheld their flight, and encouraging those about him, fell with undaunted valour upon the enemy; and being for some time bravely seconded by his foot, did great execution. At length overpowered by numbers, his men began to disperse, and Stephen was left almost alone with his sword in his hand, wherewith he opposed his person against a whole victorious army, nor durst any be so hardy to approach him; the sword breaking, a citizen of Lincoln put into his hands a Danish battle-axe, with which he struck to the ground the earl of Chester *, who presumed to come within his reach. But this weapon likewise flying in pieces with the force of those furious blows he dealt on all sides, a bold knight of the empress's

* The earl of Chester lived nevertheless to fight other battles, and died twelve years afterward by poison.

party,

party, named William de Keynes, laid hold on his helmet, and immediately cried out to his fellows, "I have got the king." Then the rest ran in, and he was taken prisoner.

The king being thus secured, was presented to the empress, then at Gloucester, and by her orders conveyed to Bristol; where he continued in strict custody nine months, although with honourable treatment for some time, until either upon endeavouring to make his escape, or in malice to the Londoners, who had a great affection for their king, he was, by express command from the empress, laid in irons, and used with other circumstances of severity.

This victory was followed by a general defection of almost the whole kingdom; and the earl of Anjou, husband to the empress, upon the fame of the king's defeat and imprisonment, reduced without any difficulty the whole duchy of Normandy to his obedience.

The legate himself, although brother to king Stephen, received her at Winchester with great solemnity, accepted her oath for governing with justice, redressing grievances, and supporting the rights of the Church, and took the old conditional one of fealty to her; then in an assembly of bishops and clergy convoked for the purpose, he displayed the miscarriages of his brother, and declared his approbation of the empress to be queen; to which they unanimously agreed. To complete all, he prevailed by his credit with the Londoners, who stood out the last of any, to acknowledge and receive her into the city, where she arrived at length in great pomp, and with general satisfaction.

But

But it was the misfortune of this princess to possess many weaknesses that are charged to the sex, and very few of its commendable qualities: she was now in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom, except the county of Kent, where William D'Ypres pretended to keep up a small party for the king; when by her pride, wilfulness, indiscretion, and a disobliging behaviour, she soon turned the hearts of all men against her, and in a short time lost the fruits of that victory and success, which had been so hardly gained by the prudence and valour of her excellent brother. The first occasion she took to discover the perverseness of her nature, was in the treatment of Maude, the wife of king Stephen, a lady of great virtue and courage above her sex; who, coming to the empress an humble suitor in behalf of her husband, offered, as a price of his liberty, that he should resign all pretensions to the crown, and pass the rest of his life in exile, or in a convent: but this request was rejected with scorn and reproaches; and the queen finding all entreaties to no purpose, writ to her son Eustace to let him understand the ill success of her negotiation, that no relief was to be otherwise hoped for than by arms; and therefore advised him to raise immediately what forces he could for the relief of his father.

Her next miscarriage was toward the Londoners, who presented her a petition for redressing certain rigorous laws of her father, and restoring those of Edward the Confessor. The empress put them off for a time with excuses, but at last discovered some displeasure at their importunity. The citizens, who had with much difficulty been persuaded to receive her

her against their inclinations, which stood wholly for the king, were moved with indignation at her unreasonable refusal of their just demands, and entered into a conspiracy to seize her person. But she had timely notice of their design, and leaving the city by night in disguise fled to Oxford.

A third false step the empress made, was, in refusing her new powerful friend the legate a favour he desired in behalf of Eustace, the king's son, to grant him the lands and honours held by his father before he came to the crown. She had made large promises to this prelate, that she would be directed in all things by his advice; and to be refused upon his first application a small favour for his own nephew, stung him to the quick; however, he governed his resentments a while, but began at the same time to resume his affection for his brother. These thoughts were cultivated with great address by queen Maude; who prevailed at last so far upon the legate, that private measures were agreed between them for restoring Stephen to his liberty and crown. The bishop took leave of the empress, upon some plausible pretence, and retired to Winchester; where he gave directions for supplying with men and provision several strong castles he had built in his diocese, while the queen with her son Eustace prevailed with the Londoners and men of Kent to rise in great numbers for the king; and a powerful army was quickly on foot, under the command of William D'Ypres earl of Kent.

In the mean time the empress began to be sensible of the errours she had committed; and in hope either to retrieve the friendship of the legate, or take him prisoner, marched with her army to Winchester; where being received and lodged in the castle, she sent

sent immediately for the legate, spoke much in excuse of what was past, and used all endeavours to regain him to her interests. Bishop Henry, on the other side, amused her with dubious answers, and kept her in suspense for some days; but sent privately at the same time to the king's army, desiring them to advance with all possible speed; which was executed with so much diligence, that the empress and her brother had only time with their troops to march a back-way out of the town. They were pursued by the enemy so close in the rear, that the empress had hardly time, by counterfeiting herself dead, to make her escape; in which posture she was carried as a corpse to Gloucester; but the earl her brother, while he made what opposition he could, with design to stop her pursuers, was himself taken prisoner, with great slaughter of his men. After the battle, the earl was in his turn presented to queen Maude, and by her command sent to Rochester, to be treated in the same manner with the king.

Thus the heads of both parties were each in the power of his enemy, and Fortune seemed to have dealt with great equality between them. Two factions divided the whole kingdom, and as it usually happens, private animosities were inflamed by the quarrel of the publick; which introduced a miserable face of things throughout the land, whereof the writers of our English story give melancholy descriptions, not to be repeated in this history; since the usual effects of civil war are obvious to * conceive, and tiresome as well as useless to * relate. However, as the quarrel between the king and empress was

* This should be—'are obvious to *be conceived*, and tiresome as well as useless to *be related*.'

grounded

grounded upon a cause, that in its own nature little concerned the interests of the people, this was thought a convenient juncture for transacting a peace, to which there appeared a universal disposition. Several expedients were proposed; but earl Robert would consent upon no other terms than the deposing of Stephen, and immediate delivery of the crown to his sister. These debates lasted for some months, until the two prisoners, weary of their long constraint, by mutual consent were exchanged for each other, and all thoughts of agreement laid aside.

The king, upon recovery of his freedom, hastened to London, to get supplies of men and money for renewing the war. He there found that his brother of Winchester had, in a council of bishops and abbots, renounced all obedience to the empress, and persuaded the assembly to follow his example. The legate, in excuse for this proceeding, loaded her with infamy, produced several instances wherein she had broken the oath she took when he received her as queen, and upon which his obedience was grounded; said, he had received information that she had a design upon his life.

It must be confessed, that oaths of fealty in this prince's reign were feeble ties for binding the subject to any reasonable degree of obedience; and the warmest advocates for liberty cannot but allow, from those examples here produced, that it is very possible for people to run upon great extremes in this matter; that a monarch may be too much limited, and a subject too little; whereof the consequences have been fully as pernicious, for the time, as the worst that can be apprehended from arbitrary power in all its heights, although not perhaps so lasting or

so

so hard to be remedied; since all the miseries of this kingdom, during the period we are treating of, were manifestly owing to that continual violation of such oaths of allegiance, as appear to have been contrived on purpose by ambitious men to be broken at pleasure, without the least apprehension of perjury; and in the mean time keep the prince in a continual slavish dependance.

The earl of Gloucester, soon after his release, went over into Normandy; where he found the earl of Anjou employed in completing the conquest of that duchy; there he delivered him the sons of several English noblemen, to be kept as hostages for their father's fidelity to the empress; and used many arguments for persuading him to come over in person with an army to her assistance: but Geoffry excused himself by the importance of other affairs, and the danger of exposing the dominions he had newly acquired to rebellions in his absence. However, he lent the earl of Gloucester a supply of four hundred men, and sent along with him his eldest son Henry, to comfort his mother, and be shown to the people.

During the short absence of the earl of Gloucester, the empress was closely besieged in Oxford by the king; and provision beginning to fail, she was in cruel apprehensions of falling into his hands. This gave her occasion to put in practice the only talent wherein she seemed to excel, which was, that of contriving some little shift or expedient to secure her person upon any sudden emergency. A long season of frost had made the Thames passable upon the ice, and much snow lay on the ground; Maude, with some few attendants clad all in white, to avoid being discovered from the king's camp, crossed the

river at midnight on foot, and travelling all night, got safe to Wallingford castle, where her brother and young son Henry, newly returned from France, arrived soon after, to her great satisfaction: but Oxford, immediately upon the news of her flight, surrendered to the king.

However, this disgrace was fully compensated soon after by another of the same kind, which happened to king Stephen; for while he and his brother of Winchester were fortifying a nunnery at Wilton, to bridle his enemies at Salisbury, who very much harrassed those parts by their frequent excursions; the earl of Gloucester, who watched all opportunities, came unaware with a strong body of men, and set fire to the nunnery while the king himself was in it. Stephen, upon the sudden surprise of the thing, wholly lost or forgot his usual courage, and fled shamefully away, leaving his soldiers to be cut in pieces by the earl.

During the rest of the war, although it lasted nine years longer, there is little memorable recorded by any writer; whether the parties being pretty equal, and both sufficiently tired with so long a contention, wanted vigour and spirit to make a thorough conquest, and only endeavoured to keep what they had; or whether the multitude of strong castles, whose number daily increased, made it very difficult to end a war between two contending powers almost in balance; let the cause be what it will, the whole time passed in mutual sieges, surprises, revolts, surrenders of fortified places, without any decisive action, or other event of importance to be related. By which at length the very genius of the people became wholly bent upon a life of spoil,

robbery,

robbery, and plunder; many of the nobles, although pretending to hold their castles for the king or the empress, lived like petty independant princes in a perpetual state of war against their neighbours; the fields lay uncultivated, all the arts of civil life were banished, no veneration left for sacred persons or things; in short, no law, truth, or religion, among men, but a scene of universal misery, attended with all the consequences of an embroiled and distracted state.

About the eleventh year of the king's reign, young Henry, now growing toward a man, was sent for to France by a message from his father, who was desirous to see him; but left a considerable party in England, to adhere to his interests; and in a short time after (as some write) the empress herself grown weary of contending any longer in a cause where she had met with nothing but misfortunes of her own procuring, left the kingdom likewise, and retired to her husband. Nor was this the only good fortune that befel Stephen; for, before the year ended, the main prop and pillar of his enemies was taken away by death; this was Robert earl of Gloucester, than whom there have been few private persons known in the world that deserve a fairer place and character in the registers of time, for his inviolable faith, disinterested friendship, indefatigable zeal, firm constancy to the cause he espoused, and unparallelled generosity in the conduct thereof: he adhered to his sister in all her fortunes, to the ruin of his own; he placed a crown on her head; and when she had lost it by her folly and perverseness, refused the greatest offers from a victorious enemy, who had him in his power, and chose to continue a prisoner

prisoner rather than recover his liberty by any hazard to her pretensions: he bore up her sinking title in spite of her own frequent miscarriages, and at last died in her cause by a fever contracted with perpetual toils for her service. An example fit to be shown the world, although few perhaps are likely to follow it; but however, a small tribute of praise, justly due to extraordinary virtue, may prove no ill expedient to encourage imitation.

But the death of this lord, together with the absence of the empress and her son in France, added very little to the quiet or security of the king. For the earl of Gloucester suspecting the fidelity of the lords, had, with great sagacity, delivered their sons to the earl of Anjou, to be kept as pledges for their fathers' fidelity, as we have before related: by which means a powerful party was still kept up against Stephen, too strong to be suddenly broken. Besides, he had, by an unusual strain of his conduct, lately lost much good-will, as well as reputation, in committing an act of violence and fraud on the person of the earl of Chester, a principal adherent of the empress. This nobleman of great power and possessions, had newly reconciled himself to Stephen, and came to his court at Northampton; where, against all laws of hospitality, as well as common faith and justice, he was committed to prison, and forced to buy his liberty with the surrender of Lincoln, and all his other places, into the king's hands.

Affairs continued in this turbulent posture about two years, the nobles neither trusting the king, nor each other. The number of castles still increased, which every man who had any possessions was forced

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to build, or else become a prey to his power-
1149 ful neighbours. This was thought a convenient juncture, by the empress and her friends, for sending young prince Henry to try his fortune in England; where he landed at the head of a considerable number of horse and foot, although he was then but sixteen years old. Immediately after his arrival he went to Carlisle, where he met his cousin David king of Scots, by whom he was made a knight, after the usual custom of young princes and noblemen in that age. The king of England, who had soon intelligence of Henry's landing and motions, marched down to secure York, against which he expected the first attempt of his enemy was designed. But, whatever the cause might be (wherein the writers of those ages are either silent or unsatisfactory) both armies remained at that secure distance for three months; after which Henry returned
1150 back to Normandy, leaving the kingdom in the state of confusion he found it at his coming.

The fortunes of this young prince Henry Fitz-empress now began to advance by great and sudden steps, whereof it will be no digression to inform the reader, as well upon the connexion they have with the affairs at home about this time, as because they concern the immediate successor to the crown.

1151. Prince Henry's voyage to France was soon followed by the death of his father Geoffry earl of Anjou, whereby the son became possessed of that earldom, together with the duchy of Nor-
1152 mandy; but in a short time after he very much enlarged his dominions by a marriage, in which he consulted his reputation less than his advantage.

vantage. For, Lewis the Young, king of France, was lately divorced from his wife Eleanor; who, as the French writers relate, bore a great contempt and hatred to her husband, and had long desired such a separation. Other authors give her not so fair a character: but whatever might be the real cause, the pretext was consanguinity in the fourth degree. Henry was content to accept this lady with all her faults, and in her right became duke of Aquitain, and earl of Poitou, very considerable provinces, added to his other dominions.

But the two kings of France and England began to apprehend much danger from the sudden greatness of a young ambitious prince; and their interests were jointly concerned to check his growth. Duke Henry was now ready to sail for England, in a condition to assert his title upon more equal terms; when the king of France, in conjunction with Eustace, king Stephen's son, and Geoffry, the duke's own brother, suddenly entered into his dominions with a mighty army; took the castle of Neumarchè by storm, and laid siege to that of Angers. The duke, by this incident, was forced to lay aside his thoughts of England, and marching boldly toward the enemy, resolved to relieve the besieged; but finding they had already taken the castle, he thought it best to make a diversion, by carrying the war into the enemy's country; where he left all to the mercy of his soldiers, surprised and burnt several castles, and made great devastations wherever he came. This proceeding answered the end for which it was designed; the king of France thought he had already done enough for his honour, and began to grow weary of a ruinous war, which was likely to be protracted.

tracted. The conditions of a peace, by the intervention of some religious men, were soon agreed. The duke, after some time spent in settling his affairs, and preparing all things necessary for his intended expedition, set sail for England, where he landed the same year in the depth of winter, with a hundred and forty knights, and three thousand foot.

Some time before Henry landed, the king had conceived a project to disappoint his designs, by confirming the crown upon himself and his own posterity. He sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, with several other prelates, and proposed that his son Eustace should be crowned king with all the usual solemnity; but the bishops absolutely refused to perform the office, by express orders from the pope, who was the enemy to Stephen, partly upon account of his unjust or declining cause, but chiefly for his strict alliance with the king of France, who was then engaged in a quarrel against that see, upon a very tender point relating to the revenues of vacant churches. The king and his son were both enraged at the bishops' refusal, and kept them prisoners in the chamber where they assembled, with many threats to force them to a compliance, and some other circumstances of rigour; but all to no purpose, so that he was at length forced to desist. But the archbishop, to avoid farther vexation, fled the realm.

This contrivance of crowning the son during the life and reign of the father, which appears so absurd in speculation, was actually performed in the succeeding reign; and seems to have been taken up by those two princes of French birth and extraction, in imitation of the like practice in their native country,

country, where it was usual for kings grown old and infirm, or swayed by paternal indulgence, to receive their eldest son into a share of the administration, with the title of king; a custom borrowed, no doubt, from the later emperors of Rome, who adopted their Cæsars after the like manner.

1153. The king was employed in his usual exercise of besieging castles, when the news was brought of Henry's arrival. He left the work he was about, and marched directly against the duke, who was then sat down before Malmesbury. But Stephen forced him to raise the siege, and immediately offered him battle. The duke, although his army was much increased by continual revolts, thought it best to gain time, being still in number far inferiour to the king, and therefore kept himself strongly intrenched. There is some difference among writers about the particulars of this war: however, it is generally agreed, that in a short time after, the two armies met, and were prepared for battle; when the nobles on both sides, either dreading the consequences, or weary of a tedious war, prevailed with the king and duke to agree to a truce for some days in order to a peace; which was violently opposed by Eustace the king's son, a youth of great spirit and courage, because he knew very well it could not be built but upon the ruin of his interests; and therefore finding he could not prevail, he left the army in a rage, and attended by some followers, endeavoured to satiate his fury, by destroying the country in his march: but in a few days, as he sat at dinner in a castle of his own, he fell suddenly dead, either through grief, madness, or poison.

The truce was now expired, and the duke began to renew the war with fresh vigour; but the king was wholly dispirited upon this fatal accident, and now first began to entertain real thoughts of a peace. He had lost a son whom he dearly loved, and with him he likewise lost the alliance of the French king, to whose sister the young prince was married. He had indeed another son left, but little esteemed by the nobles and people; nor, as it appears, much regarded by his father. He was now in the decline of his age, decayed in his health, forsaken by his friends, who, since the death of Eustace, fell daily from him; and having no farther care at heart for his posterity, he thought it high time to seek repose for his person. The nobles soon observed this disposition in their king, which was so agreeable to their own; therefore by general consent, Theobald archbishop of Canterbury was appointed mediator between both princes. All matters were soon agreed; an assembly of lords was convened at Winchester, where the king received the duke with great marks of courtesy and kindness. There the peace was confirmed by the king's charter, wherein are expressed the terms of agreement. But I shall relate only the principal.

The king, by this charter, acknowledged Henry for lawful successor to the crown; in which capacity all the nobles paid him homage: and Henry himself, with his party, paid homage to Stephen. There is likewise a reservation for William, the king's son, of all the honours possessed by his father before he came to the crown. The king likewise acknowledges the obedience of his subjects to be no longer due to him than he shall observe the conditions of this charter.

And

And for the performance of these articles, the archbishops and bishops were appointed guarantees. There were some other articles agreed on, which are not mentioned in the charter; as, a general pardon; a restitution, to the right owners, of those lands and possessions, which had been usurped in the time of the troubles; that all castles built during the war should be razed to the ground, which are said to have been above eleven hundred; that the rights of the church should be preserved; with other matters of less moment.

Thus, by the prudence of archbishop Theobald, the moderation of the two princes engaged, and the universal inclination of the people, a happy period was put to this tedious and troublesome war: men began to have the prospect of a long peace: nor was it easy to foresee what could possibly arise to disturb it; when discovery was made, by accident, of a most horrible peace of treachery, which, if it had met with success, would have once more set the whole nation in a flame. The duke, after the peace, attended the king to London, to be shown to the people as the undoubted successor to the crown; and having made a progress together through some other parts of the kingdom, they came to Canterbury; where Henry received private notice of a design upon his life. It has been already observed, that the king employed in his wars a body of Flemings, to the great discontent of his own subjects, with whom they were very ungracious. These foreigners were much discontented at the peace, whereby they were likely to become useless and burdensome to the present king, and hateful to the successor. To prevent which, the commanders among them began to prac-

tise upon the levity and ambition of William the king's son. They urged the indignity he had received in being deprived of his birthright; offered to support his title by their valour, as they had done that of his father; and as an earnest of their intentions, to remove the chief impediment by dispatching his rival out of the world. The young prince was easily wrought upon to be at the head of this conspiracy: time and place were fixed; when, upon the day appointed, William broke his leg by a fall from his horse; and the conspirators wanting their leader immediately dispersed. This disappointment and delay, as it usually happens among conspirators, were soon followed by a discovery of the whole plot; whereof the duke, with great discretion, made no other use than to consult his own safety; therefore, without any show of suspicion or displeasure, he took leave of the king, and returned to Normandy.

1154. Stephen lived not above a year to share the happiness of this peace with his people; in which time he made a progress through most parts of the kingdom, where he gained universal love and veneration, by a most affable and courteous behaviour to all men. A few months after his return he went to Dover, to have an interview with the earl of Flanders; where, after a short sickness, he died of the iliac passion, together with his old distemper the hemorrhoids, upon the twenty-fifth day of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

He was a prince of wonderful endowments, both in body and mind: in his person tall and graceful, of great strength as well as vigour: he had a large portion of most virtues that can be useful in a king toward

toward the happiness of his subjects or himself; courtesy and valour, liberality and clemency, in an eminent degree; especially the last, which he carried to an extreme, though very pardonable, yet hardly consisting with prudence, or his own safety. If we except his usurpation of the crown, he must be allowed a prince of great justice; which most writers affirm to have been always unblemished, except in that single instance: for, as to his treatment of the bishops and the earl of Chester, it seems very excusable by the necessity of the time; and it was the general opinion, if he had not used that proceeding with the latter, it would have cost him his crown. Perhaps his injustice to the empress might likewise admit a little extenuation. Four kings successively had sat on the throne without any regard to lineal descent; a period beyond the memory of most men then alive; whereby the people had lost much of that devotion they were used to bear toward an established succession: besides, the government of a woman was then a thing unknown, and for that reason disliked by all who professed to hate innovations.

But the wisdom of this prince was by no means equal to the rest of his virtues. He came to the crown upon as fair a title as his predecessor, being elected by the general consent of the nobles, through the credit of his brother, and his own personal merit. He had no disturbance for some time, which he might easily have employed in settling the kingdom, and acquiring the love of his people. He had treasure enough to raise and pay armies, without burdening the subject. His competitor was a woman, whose sex was the least of her infirmities, and with

whom

whom he had already compounded for his quiet by a considerable pension: yet with all these advantages he seldom was master of above half the kingdom at once, and that by the force of perpetual struggling, and with frequent danger of losing the whole. The principal difficulties he had to encounter, appear to have been manifest consequences of several most imprudent steps in his conduct, whereof many instances have been produced in the history of his reign; such as the unlimited permission of building castles; his raising the siege of a weak place where the empress was shut up, and must, in a few days, have fallen into his hands; his employing the Flemings in his wars, and favouring them above his own subjects; and lastly, that abortive project of crowning his son, which procured him at once the hatred and contempt of the clergy, by discovering an inclination to violence and injustice that he durst not pursue: whereas, it was nothing else but an effect of that hasty and sudden disposition usually ascribed to those of his country, and in a peculiar manner charged to this prince: for, authors give it as a part of his character, to be hot and violent in the beginning of an enterprise, but to slacken and grow cold in the prosecution.

He had a just sense of religion, and was frequent in attending the service of the church, yet reported to be no great friend of the clergy; which, however, is a general imputation upon all the kings of this realm in that and some succeeding reigns, and by no means personal to this prince, who deserved it as little as any.

I do not find any alterations during this reign in the meetings of general assemblies, farther than that the

the commons do not seem to have been represented in any of them; for which I can assign no other reason than the will of the king, or the disturbance of the time. I observed the word Parliament is used promiscuously among authors, for a general assembly of nobles, and for a council of bishops, or synod of the clergy; which renders this matter too perplexed to ascertain any thing about it.

As for affairs of the church, that deserve particular mention, I have not met with any; unless it should be worth relating, that Henry bishop of Winchester, the pope's legate, who held frequent synods during this reign, was the first introducer of appeals to Rome, in this kingdom; for which he is blamed by all the monkish historians who give us the account.

THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE SECOND.

A FRAGMENT.

THE spirit of war and contention, which had for a long time possessed the nation, 1154. became so effectually laid during the last year of king Stephen's reign, that no alteration or disturbance ensued upon his death, although the new king, after he had received intelligence of it, was detained six weeks by contrary winds: besides, the opinion of this prince's power and virtues had already begotten

so

so great an awe and reverence for him among the people, that upon his arrival he found the whole kingdom in a profound peace. He landed at Hostreham, about the beginning of December, was received at Winchester by a great number of the nobility, who came there to attend and swear fealty to him, and three weeks after was crowned at Westminster, about the twenty-third year of his age.

For the farther settling of the kingdom, after the long distractions in the preceding reign, he seized on all the castles which remained undestroyed since the last peace between him and king Stephen; whereof some he demolished, and trusted others to the government of persons in whom he could confide.

But that which most contributed to the quiet of the realm, and the general satisfaction of his subjects, was a proclamation published, commanding all foreigners to leave England; enforced with a most effectual clause, whereby a day was fixed, after which it should be capital for any of them to appear; among these was William d'Ypres earl of Kent, whose possessions the king seized into his own hands.

These foreigners, generally called Flemings by the writers of the English story, were a sort of vagabond soldiers of fortune, who in those ages, under several denominations, infested other parts of Europe as well as England: they were a mixed people, natives of Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, Brabant, and other parts of Spain and Flanders. They were ready to be hired to whatever prince thought fit to employ them; but always upon condition to have full liberty of plunder and spoil. Nor was it an easy matter to get rid of them, when there was no farther need of their service. In England they were always hated

hated by the people, and by this prince in particular, whose continual enemies they had been.

After the expulsion of these foreigners, and forcing a few refractory lords to a surrender of their castles, king Henry, like a wise prince, began to consider that a time of settled peace was the fittest juncture to recover the rights of the crown, which had been lost by the war. He therefore resumed, by his royal authority, all crown lands that had been alienated by his predecessor; alleging, that they were unalienable in themselves; and besides, that the grants were void, as coming from a usurper. Whether such proceedings are agreeable with justice, I shall not examine; but certainly a prince cannot better consult his own safety, than by disabling those whom he renders discontent; which is effectually done no other way but by depriving them of their possessions.

1156. While the king was thus employed at home, intelligence came that his brother Geoffry was endeavouring by force to possess himself of the earldom of Anjou, to which he had fair pretensions: for their father, considering what vast dominions would fall to his eldest son, bequeathed that earldom to the second in his last sickness, and commanded his nobles then about him to take an oath that they would not suffer his body to be buried, until Henry (who was then absent) should swear to observe his will. The duke of Normandy, when he came to assist at his father's obsequies, and found that without his compliance he must draw upon himself the scandal of keeping a father unburied, took the oath that was exacted for observance of his will, though very much against his own. But after he was in possession of England, whether it were that

his

his ambition enlarged with his dominions, or that from the beginning he had never intended to observe what he had sworn, he prevailed with pope Adrian (of English birth) to dispense with his oath; and in the second year of his reign went over into Normandy, drove his brother intirely out of Anjou, and forced him to accept a pension for his maintenance. But the young prince, through the resentment of this unnatural dealing, in a short time died of grief.

Nor was his treatment more favourable to the king of Scots, whom, upon a slight pretence, he took occasion to dispossess of Carlisle, Newcastle, and other places granted by the empress to that prince's father, for his services and assistance in her quarrel against Stephen.

Having thus recovered whatever he had any title to demand, he began to look out for new acquisitions. Ireland was in that age a country little known in the world. The legates sent sometimes thither from the court of Rome, for urging the payment of annats, or directing other church affairs, represented the inhabitants as a savage people, overrun with barbarism and superstition: for, indeed, no nation of Europe, where the Christian religion received so early and universal admittance, was ever so late or slow in feeling its effects upon their manners and civility *. Instead of refining their manners by their faith, they had suffered their faith to be corrupted by their manners; true religion being almost defaced, both in doctrine and discipline, after a long course of time, among a people wholly sunk in ignorance and bar-

* The Irish had been very learned in former ages, but had declined for several centuries before the reign of Henry II. See Bede.

barity.

barity. There seem to have been two reasons why the inhabitants of that island continued so long uncultivated; first, their subjection or vassalage to so many petty kings, whereof a great number is mentioned by authors, beside those four or five usually assigned to the several provinces. These princes were engaged in perpetual quarrels, in doing or revenging injuries of violence, or lust, or treachery, or injustice, which kept them all in a continual state of war. And indeed there is hardly any country, how renowned soever in ancient or modern story, which may not be traced from the like original. Neither can a nation come out from this state of confusion, until it is either reduced under one head at home, or by force or conquest becomes subject to a foreign administration.

The other reason why civility made such late entrances into that island, may be imputed to its natural situation, lying more out of the road of commerce or conquest than any other part of the known world. All the intercourse the inhabitants had, was only with the western coasts of Wales and Scotland; from whence, at least in those ages, they were not likely to learn very much politeness.

1155. The king, about the second year of his reign, sent ambassadors to pope Adrian, with injunctions to desire his licence for reducing the savage people of Ireland from their brutish way of living, and subjecting them to the crown of England. The king proceeded thus, in order to set up a title to the island, wherein the pope himself pretended to be lord of the see; for, in his letter, which is an answer and grant to the king's requests, he insists upon it, that all islands, upon their admitting the Christian

Christian faith, become subject to the see of Rome; and the Irish themselves avowed the same thing to some of the first conquerors. In that fore-mentioned letter, the pope highly praises the king's generous design, and recommends to him the civilizing of the natives, the protection of the church, and the payment of Peter-pence. The ill success of all past endeavours to procure from a people, so miserable and irreligious, this revenue to the holy see, was a main inducement with the pope to be easy and liberal in his grant; for the king professed a design of securing its regular payment. However, this expedition was not undertaken until some years after, when there happened an incident to set it forward, as we shall relate in its place. * * * * * * * *

HEADS FOR

HENRY THE SECOND'S CHARACTER.

Extracted from the Monks.

[Hard to gather his character from such bad authors.]

A WISE prince, to whom other princes referred their differences; and had ambassadors from both empires, east and west, as well as others, at once in his court.

Strong

Strong and brawny body, patient of cold and heat, big head, broad breast, broken voice, temperate in meat, using much exercise, just stature, *forma elegantissima*, *colore subrufo*, *oculis glaucis*, sharp wit, very great memory, constancy in adversity and in felicity, except at last he yielded, because almost forsaken of all; liberal, imposed few tributes, excellent soldier and fortunate, wise and not unlearned. His vices: mild and promising in adversity, fierce and hard, and a violator of faith in prosperity; covetous to his domesticks and children, although liberal to soldiers and strangers, which turned the former from him; loved profit more than justice; very lustful, which likewise turned his sons and others from him. Rosamond and the labyrinth at Woodstock. Not very religious; *mortuos milites lugens plus quam vivos amans*; *largus in publico*, *parcus in privato*. Constant in love and hatred, false to his word, morose, a lover of ease. Oppressor of nobles, sullen, and a delayer of justice; *verbo varius et versutus*——used churchmen well after Becket's death; charitable to the poor, levied few taxes, hated slaughter and cruelty. A great memory, and always knew those he once saw.

Very indefatigable in his travels backward and forward to Normandy, &c. of most endless desires to increase his dominions. * * * * *

Cætera desiderantur.

DIRECTIONS

TO

SERVANTS.

The directions to Servants is evidently an unfinished performance; some parts of it containing merely rough outlines. Mr. Faulkner, who printed it in 1745, observes, "it may "be seen from scattered papers, wherein were given hints "for a dedication and preface, and a list of all degrees of "servants, that the author intended to have gone through "all their characters."—Lord Orrery says, "the manu-"script was handed about, and much applauded in the "dean's life time;" and that it is "written in so facetious a "kind of low humour, that it must please many readers; "nor is it without some degree of merit, by pointing out "with an amazing exactness (and what in a less trivial "case must have been called judgment) the faults, blunders, "tricks, lies, and various knaveries of domestick servants."

RULES THAT CONCERN ALL SERVANTS IN GENERAL.

WHEN your master or lady calls a servant by name, if that servant be not in the way, none of you are to answer, for then there will be no end of your drudgery: and masters themselves allow, that if a servant comes when he is called, it is sufficient.

When you have done a fault, be always pert and insolent, and behave yourself as if you were the injured person; this will immediately put your master or lady off their mettle.

If you see your master wronged by any of your fellow-servants, be sure to conceal it for fear of being called a telltale: however, there is one exception in case of a favourite servant, who is justly hated by the whole family; who therefore are bound in prudence to lay all the faults they can upon the favourite.

The cook, the butler, the groom, the marketman, and every other servant who is concerned in the expenses of the family, should act as if his master's whole estate ought to be applied to that servant's particular business. For instance, if the cook computes his master's estate to be a thousand pounds a year, he reasonably concludes, that a thousand pounds a year will afford meat enough, and therefore he need not be sparing; the butler makes the same judg-

ment; so may the groom and the coachman; and thus every branch of expense will be filled to your master's honour.

When you are chid before company (which with submission to our masters and ladies, is an unmannerly practice) it often happens that some stranger will have the good nature to drop a word in your excuse; in such a case you will have a good title to justify yourself, and may rightly conclude, that whenever he chides you afterward on other occasions, he may be in the wrong; in which opinion you will be the better confirmed, by stating the case to your fellow-servants in your own way, who will certainly decide in your favour: therefore, as I have said before, whenever you are chidden, complain as if you were injured.

It often happens, that servants sent on messages are apt to stay out somewhat longer than the message requires, perhaps two, four, six, or eight hours, or some such trifle; for, the temptation to be sure was great, and flesh and blood cannot always resist: when you return, the master storms, the lady scolds; stripping, cudgelling, and turning off is the word. But here you ought to be provided with a set of excuses, enough to serve on all occasions: for instance, your uncle came fourscore miles to town this morning on purpose to see you, and goes back by break of day to morrow: a brother servant, that borrowed money of you when he was out of place, was running away to Ireland: you were taking leave of an old fellow-servant, who was shipping for Barbadoes: your father sent a cow to you to sell, and you could not get a chapman till nine at night: you were taking leave of a dear cousin, who is to be hanged next Saturday:

you wrenched your foot against a stone, and were forced to stay three hours in a shop, before you could stir a step: some nastiness was thrown on you out of a garret-window, and you were ashamed to come home before you were cleaned, and the smell went off: you were pressed for the sea-service, and carried before a justice of peace, who kept you three hours before he examined you, and you got off with much ado: a bailiff by mistake seized you for a debtor, and kept you the whole evening in a spunging house: you were told your master had gone to a tavern, and came to some mischance, and your grief was so great that you inquired for his honour in a hundred taverns between Pall-mall and Temple-bar.

Take all tradesmen's parts against your master, and when you are sent to buy any thing, never offer to cheapen it, but generously pay the full demand. This is highly to your master's honour, and may be some shillings in your pocket; and you are to consider, if your master has paid too much, he can better afford the loss than a poor tradesman.

Never submit to stir a finger in any business, but that for which you were particularly hired. For example, if the groom be drunk, or absent, and the butler be ordered to shut the stable-door, the answer is ready, An' please your honour, I don't understand horses: if a corner of the hanging wants a single nail to fasten it, and the footman be directed to tack it up, he may say, he does not understand that sort of work, but his honour may send for the upholsterer.

Masters and ladies are usually quarrelling with the servants for not shutting the doors after them: but neither masters nor ladies consider, that those

doors must be open before they can be shut, and that the labour is double to open and shut the doors; therefore the best, and shortest, and easiest way is to do neither. But if you are so often teased to shut the door, that you cannot easily forget it, then give the door such a clap as you go out, as will shake the whole room, and make every thing rattle in it, to put your master and lady in mind that you observe their directions.

If you find yourself * to grow into favour with your master or lady, take some opportunity, in a very mild way, to give them warning; and when they ask the reason, and seem loth to part with you, answer, that you would rather live with them than any body else, but a poor servant is not to be blamed if he strives to better himself; that service is no inheritance; that your work is great, and your wages very small. Upon which, if your master has any generosity, he will add five or ten shillings a quarter, rather than let you go: but if you are balked, and have no mind to go off, get some fellow-servant to tell your master, that he has prevailed upon you to stay.

Whatever good bits you can pilfer in the day, save them to junket with your fellow-servants at night; and take in the butler, provided he will give you drink.

Write your own name and your sweetheart's, with the smoke of a candle on the roof of the kitchen, or the servants hall, to show your learning.

* This is not English, the particle *to* ought not to precede the word *grow*, after the verb find;—better thus—'If you find yourself *growing* into favour,' &c.

If

If you are a young sightly fellow, whenever you whisper your mistress at the table, run your nose full in her cheek; or if your breath be good, breathe full in her face; this I have known to have had very good consequences in some families.

Never come till you have been called three or four times; for none but dogs will come at the first whistle: and when the master calls "Who's there?" no servant is bound to come; for Who's there is nobody's name.

When you have broken all your earthen drinking vessels below stairs (which is usually done in a week) the copper pot will do as well; it can boil milk, heat porridge, hold small beer, or in case of necessity, serve for a jordan; therefore apply it indifferently to all these uses; but never wash or scour it, for fear of taking off the tin.

Although you are allowed knives for the servants hall at meals, yet you ought to spare them, and make use only of your master's.

Let it be a constant rule, that no chair, stool, or table in the servants hall, or the kitchen, shall have above three legs, which has been the ancient and constant practice in all the families I ever knew, and is said to be founded upon two reasons; first to show that servants are ever in a tottering condition; secondly, it was thought a point of humility, that the servants chairs and tables should have at least one leg fewer than those of their masters. I grant there has been an exception to this rule with regard to the cook, who, by old custom, was allowed an easy chair to sleep in after dinner; and yet I have seldom seen them with above three legs. Now this epidemical lameness of servants' chairs, is by philosophers imputed

puted to two causes, which are observed to make the greatest revolutions in states and empires; I mean love and war. A stool, a chair, or a table, is the first weapon taken up in a general romping or skirmish; and after a peace, the chairs, if they be not very strong, are apt to suffer in the conduct of an amour, the cook being usually fat and heavy, and the butler a little in drink.

I could never endure to see maidservants so ungenteel as to walk the streets with their petticoats pinned up; it is a foolish excuse to allege, their petticoats will be dirty, when they have so easy a remedy as to walk three or four times down a clean pair of stairs after they come home.

When you stop to tattle with some crony servant in the same street, leave your own street-door open, that you may get in without knocking when you come back; otherwise your mistress may know you are gone out, and you must be chidden.

I do most earnestly exhort you all to unanimity and concord: but mistake me not: you may quarrel with each other as much as you please, only always bear in mind, that you have a common enemy, which is your master and lady, and you have a common cause to defend. Believe an old practitioner; whoever out of malice to a fellow-servant carries a tale to his master, shall be ruined by a general confederacy against him.

The general place of rendezvous for all the servants both in winter and summer, is the kitchen; there the grand affairs of the family ought to be consulted; whether they concern the stable, the dairy, the pantry, the laundry, the cellar, the nursery, the dining-room, or my lady's chamber: there, as in your

own proper element, you can laugh, and squall, and romp, in full security.

When any servant comes home drunk, and cannot appear, you must all join in telling your master, that he is gone to bed very sick; upon which your lady will be so good natured, as to order some comfortable thing for the poor man or maid.

When your master and lady go abroad together, to dinner, or on a visit for the evening, you need leave only one servant in the house, unless you have a blackguard boy to answer at the door, and attend the children if there be any. Who is to stay at home is to be determined by short and long cuts, and the stayer at home may be comforted by a visit from a sweetheart, without danger of being caught together. These opportunities must never be missed, because they come but sometimes; and all is safe enough while there is a servant in the house.

When your master or lady comes home, and wants a servant who happens to be abroad, your answer must be, that he had but just that minute stept out, being sent for by a cousin who was dying.

If your master calls you by name, and you happen to answer at the fourth call, you need not hurry yourself; and if you be chidden for staying, you may lawfully say, you came no sooner, because you did not know what you were called for.

When you are chidden for a fault, as you go out of the room, and down stairs, mutter loud enough to be plainly heard; this will make him believe you are innocent.

Whoever comes to visit your master or lady when they are abroad, never burden your memory with the person's name, for indeed you have too many other things

things to remember. Besides, it is a porter's busines, and your master's fault he does not keep one; and who can remember names? and you will certainly mistake them, and you can neither write nor read.

If it be possible, never tell a lie to your master or lady, unless you have some hopes that they cannot find it out in less than half an hour. When a servant is turned off, all his faults must be told, although most of them were never known by his master or lady; and all mischiefs done by others, charged to him. And when they ask any of you, why you never acquainted them before? the answer is, "Sir, or Madam, really I was afraid it would make you angry; and besides, perhaps you might think it was malice in me." Where there are little masters and misses in a house, they are usually great impediments to the diversions of the servants; the only remedy is to bribe them with *goody goodies*, that they may not tell tales to papa and mamma.

I advise you of the servants, whose master lives in the country, and who expect vales, always to stand rank and file when a stranger is taking his leave; so that he must of necessity pass between you; and he must have more confidence, or less money than usual, if any of you let him escape; and according as he behaves himself, remember to treat him the next time he comes.

If you are sent with ready money to buy any thing at a shop, and happen at that time to be out of pocket, sink the money, and take up the goods on your master's account. This is for the honour of your master and yourself; for he becomes a man of credit at your recommendation.

When

When your lady sends for you up to her chamber to give you any orders, be sure to stand at the door, and keep it open, fiddling with the lock all the while she is talking to you, and keep the button in your hand, for fear you should forget to shut the door after you.

If your master or lady happen once in their lives to accuse you wrongfully, you are a happy servant; for you have nothing more to do, than for every fault you commit while you are in their service, to put them in mind of that false accusation, and protest yourself equally innocent in the present case.

When you have a mind to leave your master, and are too bashful to break the matter for fear of offending him, the best way is to grow rude and saucy of a sudden, and beyond your usual behaviour, till he finds it necessary to turn you off; and when you are gone, to revenge yourself, give him and his lady such a character to all your brother-servants who are out of place, that none will venture to offer their service.

Some nice ladies who are afraid of catching cold, having observed that the maids and fellows below stairs often forget to shut the door after them, as they come in, or go out into the back yards, have contrived that a pulley and a rope, with a large piece of lead at the end, should be so fixed, as to make the door shut of itself, and require a strong hand to open it; which is an immense toil to servants, whose business may force them to go in and out fifty times in a morning: but ingenuity can do much, for prudent servants have found out an effectual remedy against this insupportable grievance,

by

by tying up the pulley in such a manner, that the weight of the lead shall have no effect; however, as to my own part, I would rather choose to keep the door always open, by laying a heavy stone at the bottom of it.

The servants candlesticks are generally broken, for nothing can last for ever. But you may find out many expedients; you may conveniently stick your candle in a bottle, or with a lump of butter against the wainscot, in a powderhorn, or in an old shoe, or in a cleft stick, or in the barrel of a pistol, or upon its own grease on a table, in a coffeecup, or a drinking-glass, a horn can, a teapot, a twisted napkin, a mustardpot, an inkhorn, a marrowbone, a piece of dough, or you may cut a hole in the loaf, and stick it there.

When you invite the neighbouring servants to junket with you at home in an evening, teach them a peculiar way of tapping or scraping at the kitchen-window, which you may hear, but not your master or lady; whom you must take care not to disturb or frighten at such unseasonable hours.

Lay all faults upon a lapdog, or favourite cat, a monkey, a parrot, a child; or on the servant who was last turned off: by this rule you will excuse yourself, do no hurt to any body else, and save your master or lady from the trouble and vexation of chiding.

When you want proper instruments for any work you are about, use all expedients you can invent, rather than leave your work undone. For instance, if the poker be out of the way, or broken, stir the fire with the tongs; if the tongs be not at hand, use the muzzle of the bellows, the wrong end of the fire-

fireshovel, the handle of the firebrush, the end of a mop, or your master's cane. If you want paper to singe a fowl, tear the first book you see about the house. Wipe your shoes, for want of a clout, with the bottom of a curtain, or a damask napkin. Strip your livery lace for garters. If the butler wants a jordan, he may use the great silver cup.

There are several ways of putting out candles, and you ought to be instructed in them all: you may run the candle end against the wainscot, which puts the snuff out immediately: you may lay it on the ground, and tread the snuff out with your foot: you may hold it upside down, until it is choked with its own grease, or cram it into the socket of the candlestick: you may whirl it round in your hand till it goes out: when you go to bed, after you have made water, you may dip the candle end into the chamber-pot: you may spit on your finger and thumb, and pinch the snuff till it goes out. The cook may run the candle's nose into the mealtub, or the groom into a vessel of oats, or a lock of hay, or a heap of litter: the housemaid may put out her candle by running it against the looking-glass, which nothing cleans so well as candle-snuff: but the quickest and best of all methods is, to blow it out with your breath, which leaves the candle clear, and readier to be lighted.

There is nothing so pernicious in a family as a telltale; against whom it must be the principal business of you all to unite: whatever office he serves in, take all opportunities to spoil the business he is about, and to cross him in every thing. For instance, if the butler be a telltale, break his glasses whenever he leaves the pantry-door open; or lock

the

the cat or the mastiff in it, who will do as well: mislay a fork or spoon so as he may never find it. If it be the cook, whenever she turns her back, throw a lump of soot, or a handful of salt, in the pot, or smoking coals into the drippingpan, or daub the roast meat with the back of the chimney, or hide the key of the jack. If a footman be suspected, let the cook daub the back of his new livery; or when he is going up with a dish of soup, let her follow him softly with a ladle full, and dribble it all the way up stairs to the dining-room, and then let the housemaid make such a noise, that her lady may hear it. The waiting maid is very likely to be guilty of this fault, in hopes to ingratiate herself: in this case the laundress must be sure to tear her smocks in the washing, and yet wash them but half; and when she complains, tell all the house that she sweats so much, and her flesh is so nasty, that she fouls a smock more in one hour, than the kitchenmaid does in a week.

CHAP. I.

Directions to the Butler.

IN my directions to servants, I find from my long observation, that you butlers are the principal persons concerned.

Your business being of the greatest variety, and requiring the greatest exactness, I shall, as well as I can

I can recollect, run through the several branches of your office, and order my instructions accordingly.

In waiting at the sideboard, take all possible care to save your own trouble, and your master's drinking-glasses: therefore, first, since those who dine at the same table are supposed to be friends, let them all drink out of the same glass without washing, which will save you much pains, as well as the hazard of breaking them. Give no person any liquor until he has called for it thrice at least; by which means, some, out of modesty, and others, out of forgetfulness, will call the seldomer, and thus your master's liquor be saved.

If any one desires a glass of bottled ale, first shake the bottle, to see whether any thing be in it; then taste it, to see what liquor it is, that you may not be mistaken; and lastly, wipe the mouth of the bottle with the palm of your hand, to show your cleanliness.

Be more careful to have the cork in the belly of the bottle than in the mouth; and if the cork be musty, or white friars in your liquor, your master will save the more.

If an humble companion, a chaplain, a tutor, or a dependent cousin, happen to be at table, whom you find to be little regarded by the master, and the company (which nobody is readier to discover and observe than we servants) it must be the business of you and the footman, to follow the example of your betters, by treating him many degrees worse than any of the rest; and you cannot please your master better, or at least your lady.

If any one calls for small beer toward the end of dinner, do not give yourself the pains of going down to the cellar, but gather the droppings and leavings out of the several cups and glasses and salvers into one; but turn your back to the company for fear of being observed. On the contrary, when any one calls for ale toward the end of dinner, fill the largest tankard-cup topful, by which you will have the greatest part left to oblige your fellow servants, without the sin of stealing from your master.

There is likewise a perquisite full as honest, by which you have a chance of getting every day the best part of a bottle of wine for yourself; for, you are to suppose, that gentlefolks will not care for the remainder of a bottle; therefore always set a fresh one before them after dinner, although there has not been above a glass drunk out of the other.

Take special care that your bottles be not musty before you fill them; in order to which, blow strongly into the mouth of every bottle; and then if you smell nothing but your own breath, immediately fill it.

If you are sent down in haste to draw any drink, and find it will not run, do not be at the trouble of opening a vent, but blow strongly into the fauset, and you will find it immediately pour into your mouth; or take out the vent, but do not stay to put it in again, for fear your master should want you.

If you are curious to taste some of your master's choice bottles, empty as many of them just below the neck as will make the quantity you want; but then take care to fill them up again with clean water, that you may not lessen your master's liquor.

There

There is an excellent invention found out of late years in the management of ale and small beer at the sideboard: for instance, a gentleman calls for a glass of ale and drinks but half; another calls for small beer: you immediately turn out the remainder of the ale into the tankard, and fill the glass with small beer; and so backward and forward, as long as dinner lasts, by which you answer three ends: First, you save yourself the trouble of washing, and consequently the danger of breaking your glasses: Secondly, you are sure not to be mistaken in giving gentlemen the liquor they call for: And lastly, by this method you are certain that nothing is lost.

Because butlers are apt to forget to bring up their ale and beer time enough, be sure you remember to have up yours two hours before dinner; and place them in the sunny part of the room, to let people see that you have not been negligent.

Some butlers have a way of decanting (as they call it) bottled ale, by which they lose a good part of the bottom; let your method be to turn the bottle directly upside down, which will make the liquor appear double the quantity: by this means, you will be sure not to lose one drop, and the froth will conceal the muddiness.

Clean your plate, wipe your knives, and rub the dirty tables, with the napkins and tablecloths used that day; for it is but one washing, and besides, it will save you wearing out the coarse rubbers; and in reward of such good husbandry, my judgment is, that you may lawfully make use of the finest damask napkins for nightcaps for yourself.

When you clean your plate, leave the whiting plainly to be seen in all the chinks, for fear your lady should not believe you had cleaned it.

There is nothing wherein the skill of a butler more appears, than in the management of candles, whereof although some part may fall to the share of the other servants, yet you being the principal person concerned, I shall direct my instructions upon this article to you only, leaving to your fellow-servants to apply them upon occasion.

First, to avoid burning daylight, and to save your master's candles, never bring them up till half an hour after it be dark, although they are called for ever so often.

Let your sockets be full of grease to the brim, with the old snuff at the top, and then stick on your fresh candles. It is true, this may endanger their falling, but the candles will appear so much the longer and handsomer before company. At other times, for variety, put your candles loose in the sockets, to show they are clean to the bottom.

When your candle is too big for the socket, melt it to the right size in the fire; and to hide the smoke, wrap it in paper half way up.

You cannot but observe, of late years, the great extravagance among the gentry upon the article of candles, which a good butler ought by all means to discourage, both to save his own pains, and his master's money: this may be contrived several ways; especially when you are ordered to put candles into the sconces.

Sconces are great wasters of candles; and you, who are always to consider the advantage of your master,

master, should do your utmost to discourage them: therefore your business must be to press the candle with both your hands into the socket, so as to make it lean in such a manner, that the grease may drop all upon the floor, if some lady's head dress or gentleman's periwig be not ready to intercept it: you may likewise stick the candle so loose, that it will fall upon the glass of the sconce, and break it into shatters; this will save your master many a fair penny in the year, both in candles and to the glassman, and yourself much labour; for the sconces spoiled cannot be used.

Never let the candles burn too low, but give them as a lawful perquisite to your friend the cook, to increase her kitchenstuff; or if this be not allowed in your house, give them in charity to the poor neighbours, who often run on your errands.

When you cut bread for a toast, do not stand idly watching it, but lay it on the coals, and mind your other business: then come back, and if you find it toasted quite through, scrape off the burnt side, and serve it up.

When you dress up your sideboard, set the best glasses as near the edge of the table as you can; by which means they will cast a double lustre, and make a much finer figure; and the consequence can be at most, but the breaking half a dozen, which is a trifle in your master's pocket.

Wash the glasses with your own water, to save your master's salt.

When any salt is spilt on the table, do not let it be lost, but when dinner is done, fold up the tablecloth with the salt in it, then shake the salt out into the saltcellar to serve next day: but the

shortest and surest way is, when you remove the cloth, to wrap the knives, forks, spoons, saltcellars, broken bread, and scraps of meat all together, in the tablecloth; by which you will be sure to lose nothing, unless you think it better to shake them out of the window among the beggars, that they may with more convenience eat the scraps.

Leave the dregs of wine, ale, and other liquors in the bottles: to rince them is but loss of time, since all will be done at once in a general washing; and you will have a better excuse for breaking them.

If your master has many musty, or very foul and crusted bottles, I advise you, in point of conscience, that those may be the first you truck at the next alehouse for ale or brandy.

When a message is sent to your master, be kind to your brother-servant who brings it; give him the best liquor in your keeping, for your master's honour; and at the first opportunity he will do the same to you.

After supper, if it be dark, carry your plate and china together in the same basket, to save candlelight, for you know your pantry well enough to put them up in the dark.

When company is expected at dinner, or in the evenings, be sure to be abroad, that nothing may be got which is under your key; by which your master will save his liquor, and not wear out his plate.

I come now to a most important part of your economy, the bottling of a hogshead of wine, wherein I recommend three virtues, cleanliness, frugality, and brotherly love. Let your corks be of the longest kind you can get; which will save some wine in the neck

neck of every bottle: as to your bottles, choose the smallest you can find, which will increase the number of dozens, and please your master; for a bottle of wine is always a bottle of wine whether it hold more or less; and if your master has his proper number of dozens, he cannot complain.

Every bottle must be first rinsed with wine, for fear of any moisture left in the washing: some, out of a mistaken thrift, will rinse a dozen bottles with the same wine; but I would advise you, for more caution, to change the wine at every second bottle; a gill may be enough. Have bottles ready by to save it; and it will be a good perquisite either to sell, or drink with the cook.

Never draw your hogshead too low; nor tilt it for fear of disturbing your liquor. When it begins to run slow, and before the wine grows cloudy, shake the hogshead, and carry a glass of it to your master; who will praise you for your discretion, and give you all the rest as a perquisite to your place: you may tilt the hogshead the next day, and in a fortnight get a dozen or two of good clear wine to dispose of as you please.

In bottling wine, fill your mouth full of corks, together with a large plug of tobacco, which will give to the wine the true taste of the weed, so delightful to all good judges in drinking.

When you are ordered to decant a suspicious bottle, if a pint be out, give your hand a dextrous shake, and show it in a glass, that it begins to be muddy.

When a hogshead of wine or any other liquor is to be bottled off, wash your bottles immediately before you begin; but, be sure not to drain them, by

which good management your master will save some gallons in every hogshead.

This is the time, that in honour to your master you ought to show your kindness to your fellow-servants, and especially to the cook; for what signifies a few flagons out of a whole hogshead? But make them be drunk in your presence, for fear they should be given to other folks, and so your master be wronged: but advise them, if they get drunk, to go to bed, and leave word they are sick; which last caution I would have all the servants observe, both male and female.

If your master finds the hogshead to fall short of his expectation, what is plainer, than that the vessel leaked: that the wine-cooper had not filled it in proper time: that the merchant cheated him with a hogshead below the common measure?

When you are to get water on for tea after dinner (which in many families is part of your office) to save firing, and to make more haste, pour it into the teakettle from the pot where cabbage or fish have been boiling, which will make it much wholesomer, by curing the acid and corroding quality of the tea.

Be saving of your candles, and let those in the sconces of the hall, the stairs, and in the lantern, burn down into the sockets, until they go out of themselves; for which your master and lady will commend your thriftness, as soon as they shall smell the snuff.

If a gentleman leaves a snuff box or picktooth-case on the table after dinner, and goes away, look upon it as part of your vails, for so it is allowed by

servants,

servants, and you do no wrong to your master or lady.

If you serve a country 'squire, when gentlemen and ladies come to dine at your house, never fail to make their servants drunk, and especially the coachman, for the honour of your master: to which in all your actions you must have a special regard, as being the best judge: for the honour of every family is deposited in the hands of the cook, the butler, and the groom, as I shall hereafter demonstrate.

Snuff the candles at supper as they stand on the table, which is much the securest way: because, if the burning snuff happens to get out of the snuffers, you have a chance that it may fall into a dish of soup, sackposset, rice-milk, or the like, where it will be immediately extinguished with very little stink.

When you have snuffed the candle, always leave the snuffers open, for the snuff will of itself burn away to ashes, and cannot fall out and dirty the table when you snuff the candles again.

That the salt may lie smooth in the saltcellar, press it down with your moist palm.

When a gentleman is going away after dining with your master, be sure to stand full in view, and follow him to the door, and as you have opportunity, look full in his face, perhaps it may bring you a shilling; but if the gentleman has lain there a night, get the cook, the housemaid, the stablemen, the scullion, and gardiner, to accompany you, and to stand in his way to the hall in a line on each side of him: if the gentleman performs handsomely, it will do him honour, and cost your master nothing.

You need not wipe your knife to cut bread for the table, because in cutting a slice or two it will wipe itself.

Put

Put your finger into every bottle to feel whether it be full, which is the surest way, for feeling has no fellow.

When you go down to the cellar to draw ale or small beer, take care to observe directly the following method: hold the vessel between the finger and thumb of your right hand, with the palm upwards; then hold the candle between your fingers, but a little leaning toward the mouth of the vessel; then take out the spigot with your left hand, and clap the point of it in your mouth, and keep your left hand to watch accidents; when the vessel is full, withdraw the spigot from your mouth, well wetted with spittle, which being of a slimy consistence will make it stick faster in the fauset: if any tallow drops into the vessel you may easily (if you think of it) remove it with a spoon.

Always lock up a cat in the closet where you keep your china plates, for fear the mice may steal in and break them.

A good butler always breaks off the point of his bottlescrew in two days, by trying which is hardest, the point of the screw, or the neck of the bottle: in this case, to supply the want of a screw, after the stump has torn the cork in pieces, make use of a silver fork, and when the scraps of the cork are almost drawn out, flirt the mouth of the bottle into the cistern three or four times, until you quite clear it.

If a gentleman dines often with your master, and gives you nothing when he goes away, you may use several methods to show him some marks of your displeasure, and quicken his memory: if he calls for bread or drink, you may pretend not to hear, or send it to another who called after him; if he asks for wine,

wine, let him stay awhile, and then send him small beer; give him always foul glasses; send him a spoon when he wants a knife; wink at the footman to leave him without a plate: by these, and the like expedients, you may probably be a better man by half a crown before he leaves the house, provided you watch an opportunity of standing by, when he is going.

If your lady loves play, your fortune is fixed for ever; moderate gaming will be a perquisite of ten shillings a week; and in such a family I would rather choose to be butler than chaplain, or even rather than be steward; it is all ready money, and got without labour, unless your lady happens to be one of those, who either obliges you to find wax candles, or forces you to divide it with some favourite servants; but, at worst, the old cards are your own; and if the gamesters play deep or grow peevish, they will change the cards so often, that the old ones will be a considerable advantage by selling them to coffee-houses, or families who love play, but cannot afford better than cards at second hand: when you attend at the service, be sure to leave new packs within the reach of the gamesters; which, those who have ill luck will readily take to change their fortune; and now and then an old pack mingled with the rest will easily pass. Be sure to be very officious on play nights, and ready with your candles to light out your company, and have salvers of wine at hand to give them when they call; but manage so with the cook, that there be no supper, because it will be so much saved in your master's family; and because a supper will considerably lessen your gains.

Next

Next to cards, there is nothing so profitable to you as bottles; in which perquisite you have no competitors except the footmen, who are apt to steal and vend them for pots of beer: but you are bound to prevent any such abuses in your master's family: the footmen are not to answer for what are broke at a general bottling; and those may be as many as your discretion will make them.

The profit of glasses is so very inconsiderable, that it is hardly worth mentioning; it consists only in a small present made by the glassman, and about four shillings in the pound added to the prices for your trouble and skill in choosing them. If your master has a large stock of glasses, and you or your fellow-servants happen to break any of them without your master's knowledge, keep it a secret till there are not enough left to serve the table, then tell your master that the glasses are gone; this will be but one vexation to him, which is much better than fretting once or twice a week; and it is the office of a good servant to discompose his master and his lady as seldom as he can; and here the cat and dog will be of great use to take the blame from you. Note, that bottles missing are supposed to be half stolen by stragglers and other servants; and the other half broken by accident, and a general washing.

Whet the backs of your knives until they are as sharp as the edge; which will have this advantage, that when gentlemen find them blunt on one side, they may try the other; and to show you spare no pains in sharpening the knives, whet them so long, till you wear out a good part of the iron, and even the bottom of the silver handle. This does credit to

your master, for it shows good housekeeping, and the goldsmith may one day make you a present.

Your lady, when she finds the small beer or ale dead, will blame you for not remembering to put the peg into the vent-hole. This is a great mistake, nothing being plainer, than that the peg keeps the air in the vessel, which spoils the drink, and therefore ought to be let out; but if she insists upon it, to prevent the trouble of pulling out the vent, and putting it in a dozen times a day, which is not to be born by a good servant, leave the spigot half out at night, and you will find, with only the loss of two or three quarts of liquor, the vessel will run freely.

When you prepare your candles, wrap them up in a piece of brown paper, and so stick them into the socket; let the paper come half way up the candle, which looks handsome, if any body should come in.

Do all in the dark, to save your master's candles.

CHAP. II.

Directions to the Cook.

ALTHOUGH I am not ignorant, that it has been a long time, since the custom began among the people of quality to keep men cooks, and generally of the French nation; yet because my treatise is chiefly calculated for the general run of knights, 'squires, and gentlemen both in town and country, I shall therefore

therefore apply to you, Mrs. cook, as a woman: however, a great part of what I intend may serve for either sex; and your part naturally follows the former, because the butler and you are joined in interest; your vales are generally equal, and paid when others are disappointed: you can junket together at nights upon your own prog, when the rest of the house are abed; and have it in your power to make every fellow-servant your friend; you can give a good bit or a good sup to the little masters and misses, and gain their affections: a quarrel between you is very dangerous to you both, and will probably end in one of you being turned off; in which fatal case, perhaps it will not be so easy in some time to cotton with another. And now Mrs. cook, I proceed to give you my instructions; which I desire you will get some fellow-servant in the family to read to you constantly one night in every week when you are going to bed, whether you serve in town or country; for my lessons shall be fitted for both.

If your lady forgets at supper that there is any cold meat in the house, do not you be so officious as to put her in mind; it is plain she did not want it; and if she recollects it the next day, say she gave you no orders, and it is spent; therefore, for fear of telling a lie, dispose of it with the butler, or any other crony, before you go to bed.

Never send up a leg of a fowl at supper, while there is a cat or a dog in the house, that can be accused for running away with it: but if there happen to be neither, you must lay it upon the rats, or a strange greyhound.

It is ill housewifery to foul your kitchen rubbers with wiping the bottoms of the dishes you send up, since

since the tablecloth will do as well, and is changed every meal.

Never clean your spits after they have been used; for the grease left upon them by meat is the best thing to preserve them from rust; and when you make use of them again, the same grease will keep the inside of the meat moist.

If you live in a rich family, roasting and boiling are below the dignity of your office, and which it becomes you to be ignorant of; therefore leave that work wholly to the kitchenwench, for fear of disgracing the family you live in.

If you are employed in marketting, buy your meat as cheap as you can; but when you bring in your accounts, be tender of your master's honour, and set down the highest rate; which besides is but justice; for nobody can afford to sell at the same rate that he buys, and I am confident that you may charge safely; swear that you gave no more than what the butcher and poulterer asked. If your lady orders you to set up a piece of meat for supper, you are not to understand that you must set it up all, therefore you may give half to yourself and the butler.

Good cooks cannot abide what they justly call fiddling work, where abundance of time is spent and little done: such for instance, is the dressing small birds, requiring a world of cookery and clutter, and a second or third spit, which by the way is absolutely needless; for it will be a very ridiculous thing indeed, if a spit, which is strong enough to turn a sirloin of beef, should not be able to turn a lark; however, if your lady be nice, and is afraid that a large spit will tear them, place them handsomely in the dripping-pan, where the fat of roasted mutton or beef falling on

on the birds will serve to baste them, and so save both time and butter: for what cook of any spirit would lose her time in picking larks, wheatears, and other small birds? Therefore if you cannot get the maids or the young misses to assist you, e'en make short work, and either singe or flay them; there is no great loss in the skins, and the flesh is just the same.

If you are employed in marketting, do not accept a treat of a beef steak and a pot of ale from the butcher, which I think in conscience is no better than wronging your master; but do you always take that perquisite in money, if you do not go in trust; or in poundage, when you pay the bills.

The kitchen bellows being usually out of order with stirring the fire with the muzzle to save the tongs and poker, borrow the bellows out of your lady's bedchamber, which being least used are commonly the best in the house; and if you happen to damage or grease them, you have a chance to have them left entirely for your own use.

Let a black-guard boy be always about the house to send on your errands, and go to market for you on rainy days, which will save your clothes, and make you appear more creditable to your mistress.

If your mistress allows you the kitchenstuff, in return of her generosity take care to boil and roast your meat sufficiently. If she keeps it for her own profit, do her justice; and rather than let a good fire be wanting, enliven it now and then with the dripping and the butter that happens to turn to oil.

Send up your meat well stuck with skewers, to make it look round and plump; and an iron skewer rightly

rightly employed now and then will make it look handsomer.

When you roast a long joint of meat, be careful only about the middle, and leave the two extreme parts raw, which will serve another time, and will also save firing.

When you scour your plates and dishes, bend the brim inward, so as to make them hold the more.

Always keep a large fire in the kitchen when there is a small dinner, or the family dines abroad, that the neighbours, seeing the smoke, may commend your master's housekeeping: but, when much company is invited, then be as sparing as possible of your coals, because a great deal of the meat being half raw will be saved, and serve next day.

Boil your meat constantly in pump water, because you must sometimes want river or pipe water; and then your mistress observing your meat of a different colour, will chide you when you are not in fault.

When you have plenty of fowl in the larder, leave the door open in pity to the poor cat, if she be a good mouser.

If you find it necessary to go to market in a wet day, take out your mistress's ridinghood and cloak to save your clothes.

Get three or four chairwomen to attend you constantly in the kitchen, whom you pay at small charges, only with the broken meat, a few coals, and all the cinders.

To keep troublesome servants out of the kitchen, always leave the winder sticking on the jack to fall on their heads.

If a lump of soot falls into the soup, and you cannot conveniently get it out, stir it well, and it will give the soup a high French taste.

If you melt your butter to oil, be under no concern, but send it up, for oil is a genteeler sauce than butter.

Scrape the bottoms of your pots and kettles with a silver spoon, for fear of giving them a taste of copper.

When you send up butter for sauce, be so thrifty as to let it be half water; which is also much wholesomer.

If your butter, when it is melted, tastes of brass, it is your master's fault, who will not allow you a silver saucepan; besides, the less of it will go farther, and new tinning is very chargeable: if you have a silver saucepan, and the butter smells of smoke, lay the fault upon the coals.

Never make use of a spoon in any thing that you can do with your hands, for fear of wearing out your master's plate.

When you find that you cannot get dinner ready at the time appointed, put the clock back, and then it may be ready to a minute.

Let a redhot coal now and then fall into the drippingpan, that the smoke of the dripping may ascend, and give the roast meat a high taste.

You are to look upon the kitchen as your dressingroom; but you are not to wash your hands till you have gone to the necessaryhouse, and spitted your meat, trussed your fowl, picked your sallad, not indeed till after you have sent up your second course; for your hands will be ten times fouler with the many things you are forced to handle; but when your work is over, one washing will serve for all.

There is but one part of your dressing that I would admit while the victuals are boiling, roasting, or stewing;

ing; I mean the combing your head, which loses no time, because you can stand over your cookery, and watch it with one hand, while you are using your comb with the other.

If any of the combings happen to be sent up with the victuals, you may safely lay the fault upon any of the footmen that has vexed you: as those gentlemen are sometimes apt to be malicious, if you refuse them a sop in the pan, or a slice from the spit, much more when you discharge a ladleful of hot porridge on their legs, or send them up to their masters with a dishclout pinned at their tails.

In roasting and boiling, order the kitchen maid to bring none but the large coals, and save the small ones for the fires above stairs; the first are properest for dressing meat, and when they are out, if you happen to miscarry in any dish, you may fairly lay the fault upon want of coals; besides, the cinder-pickers will be sure to speak ill of your master's housekeeping, where they do not find plenty of large cinders mixed with fresh large coals: thus you may dress your meat with credit, do an act of charity, raise the honour of your master, and sometimes get share of a pot of ale for your bounty to the cinder-woman.

As soon as you have sent up the second course, you have nothing to do (in a great family) until supper: therefore scour your hands and face, put on your hood and scarf, and take your pleasure among your cronies, till nine or ten at night.—But dine first.

Let there be always a strict friendship between you and the butler, for it is both your interests to be united: the butler often wants a comfortable titbit, and you much oftener a cool cup of good liquor.

However, be cautious of him, for he is sometimes an inconstant lover, because he has great advantage to allure the maids with a glass of sack, or white wine and sugar.

When you roast a breast of veal, remember your sweetheart the butler loves a sweetbread; therefore set it aside till evening: you can say, the cat or the dog has run away with it, or you found it tainted, or flyblown; and besides it looks as well at the table without it as with it.

When you make the company wait long for dinner, and the meat be overdone, which is generally the case, you may lawfully lay the fault upon your lady, who hurried you so to send up dinner, that you was forced to send it up too much boiled and roasted.

If your dinner miscarries in almost every dish, how could you help it? You were teased by the footmen coming into the kitchen; and to prove it true, take occasion to be angry, and throw a ladleful of broth on one or two of their liveries; besides, Friday and Childermas-day are two cross days in the week, and it is impossible to have good luck on either of them; therefore on those two days you have a lawful excuse.

When you are in haste to take down your dishes, tip them in such a manner, that a dozen will fall together upon the dresser, just ready for your hand.

To save time and trouble, cut your apples and onions with the same knife; and well-bred gentry love the taste of an onion in every thing they eat.

Lump three or four pounds of butter together with your hand, then dash it against the wall just over

the dresser, so as to have it ready to pull by pieces as you have occasion for it.

If you have a silver saucepan for the kitchen use, let me advise you to batter it well, and keep it always black; this will be for your master's honour, for it shows there has been constant good housekeeping: and make room for the saucepan by wriggling it on the coals, &c.

In the same manner, if you are allowed a large silver spoon for the kitchen, let half the bowl of it be worn out with continual scraping and stirring, and often say merrily, This spoon owes my master no service.

When you send up a mess of broth, watergruel, or the like, to your master in a morning, do not forget with your thumb and two fingers to put salt on the side of the plate; for if you make use of a spoon or the end of a knife, there may be danger that the salt would fall, and that would be a sign of ill luck. Only remember to lick your thumb and fingers clean, before you offer to touch the salt.

CHAP. III.

Directions to the Footman.

YOUR employment, being of a mixed nature, extends to a great variety of business, and you stand in a fair way of being the favourite of your master or mistress, or of the young masters and misses; you are the fine gentleman of the family, with whom all the maids are in love. You are

sometimes a pattern of dress to your master, and sometimes he is so to you. You wait at table in all companies, and consequently have the opportunity to see and know the world, and to understand men and manners. I confess your vales are but few, unless you are sent with a present, or attend the tea in the country; but you are called Mr. in the neighbourhood, and sometimes pick up a fortune; perhaps your master's daughter; and I have known many of your tribe to have good commands in the army. In town you have a seat reserved for you in the playhouse, where you have an opportunity of becoming wits and criticks: you have no professed enemy except the rabble, and my lady's waiting-woman, who are sometimes apt to call you skip-kennel. I have a true veneration for your office, because I had once the honour to be one of your order, which I foolishly left by demeaning myself with accepting an employment in the customhouse. But that you, my brethren, may come to better fortunes, I shall here deliver my instructions, which have been the fruits of much thought and observation, as well as of seven years experience.

In order to learn the secrets of other families, tell them those of your master's; thus you will grow a favourite both at home and abroad, and regarded as a person of importance.

Never be seen in the streets with a basket or bundle in your hands, and carry nothing but what you can hide in your pocket, otherwise you will disgrace your calling: to prevent which, always retain a blackguard boy to carry your loads; and if you want farthings, pay him with a good slice of bread, or scrap of meat.

Let

Let a shoeboy clean your own shoes first, for fear of fouling the chamber, then let him clean your master's; keep him on purpose for that use, and to run of errands, and pay him with scraps. When you are sent on an errand, be sure to edge in some business of your own, either to see your sweetheart, or drink a pot of ale with some brother servants, which is so much time clear gained.

There is a great controversy about the most convenient and genteel way of holding your plate at meals; some stick it between the frame and the back of the chair, which is an excellent expedient, where the make of the chair will allow it: others, for fear the plate should fall, grasp it so firmly, that their thumb reaches to the middle of the hollow; which however, if your thumb be dry, is no secure method; and therefore in that case, I advise your wetting the ball of it with your tongue: as to that absurd practice of letting the back of the plate lye leaning on the hollow of your hand, which some ladies recommend, it is universally exploded, being liable to so many accidents. Others again are so refined, that they hold their plate directly under the left armpit, which is the best situation for keeping it warm; but this may be dangerous in the article of taking away a dish, where your plate may happen to fall upon some of the company's heads. I confess myself to have objected against all these ways, which I have frequently tried; and therefore I recommend a fourth, which is to stick your plate up to the rim inclusive, in the left side between your waistcoat and your shirt: this will keep it at least as warm as under your armpit, or ockster, as the Scots call it; this will hide it so, as strangers may take you

for a better servant, too good to hold a plate; this will secure it from falling, and thus disposed, it lies ready for you to whip out in a moment ready warmed to any guest within your reach, who may want it. And lastly, there is another convenience in this method, that if at any time during your waiting you find yourself going to cough or sneeze, you can immediately snatch out the plate, and hold the hollow part close to your nose or mouth, and thus prevent spirting any moisture from either upon the dishes or the ladies dress; you see gentlemen and ladies observe a like practice on such an occasion, with a hat or a handkerchief; yet a plate is less fouled and sooner cleaned than either of these; for, when your cough or sneeze is over, it is but returning your plate to the same position, and your shirt will clean it in the passage.

Take off the largest dishes, and set them on, with one hand, to show the ladies your vigour and strength of back; but always do it between two ladies, that if the dish happens to slip, the soup or sauce may fall on their clothes, and not daub the floor; by this practice, two of our brethren, my worthy friends, got considerable fortunes.

Learn all the new-fashion words, and oaths, and songs, and scraps of plays that your memory can hold. Thus you will become the delight of nine ladies in ten, and the envy of ninety-nine beaux in a hundred.

Take care, that at certain periods, during dinner especially, when persons of quality are there, you and your brethren be all out of the room together; by which you will give yourselves some ease from the fatigue of waiting, and at the same time leave the company

company to converse more freely without being constrained by your presence.

When you are sent on a message, deliver it in your own words, although it be to a duke or a duchess, and not in the words of your master or lady; for how can they understand what belongs to a message as well as you, who have been bred to the employment? But never deliver the answer till it is called for, and then adorn it with your own style.

When dinner is done, carry down a great heap of plates to the kitchen, and when you come to the head of the stairs, trundle them all before you: there is not a more agreeable sight or sound, especially if they be silver, beside the trouble they save you, and there they will lie ready near the kitchen door for the scullion to wash them.

If you are bringing up a joint of meat in a dish, and it falls out of your hand, before you get into the diningroom, with the meat on the ground, and the sauce spilled, take up the meat gently, wipe it with the flap of your coat, then put it again into the dish, and serve it up; and when your lady misses the sauce, tell her, it is to be sent up in a plate by itself.

When you carry up a dish of meat, dip your fingers in the sauce, or lick it with your tongue, to try whether it be good, and fit for your master's table.

You are the best judge of what acquaintance your lady ought to have, and therefore if she sends you on a message of compliment or business to a family you do not like, deliver the answer in such a manner, as may breed a quarrel between them not to be reconciled:

conciled: or if a footman comes from the same family on the like errand, turn the answer she orders you to deliver, in such a manner, as the other family may take it for an affront.

When you are in lodgings, and no shoeboy to be got, clean your master's shoes with the bottom of the curtains, a clean napkin, or your landlady's apron.

Ever wear your hat in the house, but when your master calls; and as soon as you come into his presence, pull it off to show your manners.

Never clean your shoes on the scraper, but in the entry, or at the foot of the stairs, by which you will have the credit of being at home almost a minute sooner, and the scraper will last longer.

Never ask leave to go abroad, for then it will be always known that you are absent, and you will be thought an idle rambling fellow; whereas if you go out and nobody observes you, you have a chance of coming home without being missed, and you need not tell your fellow-servants where you are gone, for they will be sure to say, you were in the house but two minutes ago, which is the duty of all servants.

Snuff the candles with your fingers, and throw the snuff on the floor, then tread it out to prevent stinking: this method will very much save the snuffers from wearing out. You ought also to snuff them close to the tallow, which will make them run, and so increase the perquisite of the cook's kitchenstuff; for she is the person you ought in prudence to be well with.

While grace is saying after meat, do you and your brethren take the chairs from behind the company,

so

so that when they go to sit again, they may fall backward, which will make them all merry; but be you so discreet as to hold your laughter till you get to the kitchen, and then divert your fellow servants.

When you know your master is most busy in company, come in and pretend to fettle about the room, and if he chides, say, you thought he rung the bell. This will divert him from plodding on business too much, or spending himself in talk, or racking his thoughts, all which are hurtful to his constitution.

If you are ordered to break the claw of a crab or a lobster, clap it between the sides of the diningroom door between the hinges: thus you can do it gradually without mashing the meat, which is often the fate of the street-door key, or the pestle.

When you take a foul plate from any of the guests, and observe the foul knife and fork lying on the plate, show your dexterity, take up the plate, and throw off the knife and fork on the table without shaking off the bones or broken meat that are left: then the guest, who has more time than you, will wipe the fork and knife already used.

When you carry a glass of liquor to any person who has called for it, do not bob him on the shoulder, or cry, sir, or madam, here's the glass; that would be unmannerly, as if you had a mind to force it down one's throat; but stand at the person's left shoulder and wait his time; and if he strikes it down with his elbow by forgetfulness, that was his fault and not yours.

When your mistress sends you for a hackney coach in a wet day, come back in the coach to save your clothes

clothes and the trouble of walking; it is better the bottom of her petticoats should be daggled with your dirty shoes, than your livery be spoiled, and yourself get a cold.

There is no indignity so great to one of your ſtation as that of lighting your master in the streets with a lantern; and therefore it is very honest policy to try all arts how to evade it: besides, it shows your master to be either poor or covetous, which are the two worst qualities you can meet with in any service. When I was under these circumstances, I made use of several wise expedients, which I here recommend to you: sometimes I took a candle so long, that it reached to the very top of the lantern and burned it: but my master after a good beating, ordered me to paste it over with paper. I then used a middling candle, but stuck it so loose in the socket, that it leaned toward one side, and burned a whole quarter of the horn. Then I used a bit of candle of half an inch, which sunk in the socket, and melted the solder, and forced my master to walk half the way in the dark. Then he made me stick two inches of candle in the place where the socket was; after which I pretended to stumble, put out the candle, and broke all the tin part to pieces: at last, he was forced to make use of a lanternboy out of perfect good husbandry.

It is much to be lamented, that gentlemen of our employment have but two hands to carry plates, dishes, bottles, and the like out of the room at meals; and the misfortune is still the greater, because one of those hands is required to open the door, while you are encumbered with your load; therefore

therefore I advise, that the door may be always left at jar, so as to open it with your foot, and then you may carry out plates and dishes from your belly up to your chin, beside a good quantity of things under your arms, which will save you many a weary step; but take care that none of the burden falls till you are out of the room, and if possible out of hearing.

If you are sent to the postoffice with a letter in a cold rainy night, step to the alehouse and take a pot, until it is supposed you have done your errand; but take the next fair opportunity to put the letter in carefully, as becomes an honest servant.

If you are ordered to make coffee for the ladies after dinner, and the pot happens to boil over, while you are running up for a spoon to stir it, or thinking of something else, or struggling with the chambermaid for a kiss, wipe the sides of the pot clean with a dishclout, carry up your coffee boldly, and when your lady finds it too weak, and examines you whether it has not run over, deny the fact absolutely, swear you put in more coffee than ordinary, that you never stirred an inch from it, that you strove to make it better than usual, because your mistress had ladies with her, that the servants in the kitchen will justify what you say; upon this, you will find that the other ladies will pronounce your coffee to be very good, and your mistress will confess that her mouth is out of taste, and she will for the future suspect herself, and be more cautious in finding fault. This I would have you do from a principle of conscience, for coffee is very unwholesome; and out of affection to your lady you ought to give it her as

weak

weak as possible: and upon this argument, when you have a mind to treat any of the maids with a dish of fresh coffee, you may, and ought to subtract a part of the powder on account of your lady's health, and getting her maids good-will.

If your master sends you with a small trifling present to one of his friends, be as careful of it as you would be of a diamond ring; therefore, if the present be only half a dozen pippins, send up the servant who received the message to say, that you were ordered to deliver them with your own hands. This will show your exactness and care to prevent accidents or mistakes; and the gentleman or lady cannot do less than give you a shilling: so when your master receives the like present, teach the messenger who brings it to do the same, and give your master hints that may stir up his generosity; for brother servants should assist one another, since it is all for their master's honour, which is the chief point to be consulted by every good servant, and of which he is the best judge.

When you step but a few doors off to tattle with a wench, or take a running pot of ale, or to see a brother footman going to be hanged, leave the street door open, that you may not be forced to knock, and your master discover you are gone out; for a quarter of an hour's time can do his service no injury.

When you take away the remaining pieces of bread after dinner, put them on foul plates and press them down with other plates over them, so as no body can touch them; and so they will be a good perquisite to the black-guard boy in ordinary.

When

When you are forced to clean your master's shoes with your own hand, use the edge of the sharpest case-knife, and dry them with the toes an inch from the fire, because wet shoes are dangerous, and besides, by these arts you will get them the sooner for yourself.

In some families the master often sends to the tavern for a bottle of wine, and you are the messenger; I advise you therefore, to take the smallest bottle you can find; but however, make the drawer give you a full quart, then you will get a good sup for yourself, and your bottle will be filled. As for a cork to stop it, you need be at no trouble, for the thumb will do as well, or a bit of dirty chewed paper.

In all disputes with chairmen and coachmen for demanding too much, when your master sends you down to chaffer with them, take pity of the poor fellows, and tell your master that they will not take a farthing less: it is more for your interest to get share of a pot of ale, than to save a shilling for your master, to whom it is a trifle.

When you attend your lady in a dark night, if she uses her coach, do not walk by the coach side, so as to tire and dirt yourself, but get up into your proper place behind it, and so hold the flambeau sloping forward over the coach roof; and when it wants snuffing, dash it against the corners.

When you leave your lady at church on Sundays, you have two hours safe to spend with your companions at the alehouse, or over a beef steak and a pot of beer at home with the cook, and the maids; and indeed poor servants have so few opportunities to be happy, that they ought not to lose any.

Never

Never wear socks when you wait at meals, on account of your own health, as well as of them who sit at table; because as most ladies like the smell of young mens toes, so it is a sovereign remedy against vapours.

Choose a service, if you can, where your livery colours are least tawdry and distinguishing: green and yellow immediately betray your office, and so do all kinds of lace, except silver, which will hardly fall to your share, unless with a duke or some prodigal just come to his estate. The colours you ought to wish for, are blue, or filemot turned up with red; which with a borrowed sword, a borrowed air, your master's linen, and a natural and improved confidence, will give you what title you please, where you are not known.

When you carry dishes or other things out of the room at meals, fill both your hands as full as possible; for although you may sometimes spill, and sometimes let fall, yet you will find, at the year's end, you have made great dispatch, and saved abundance of time.

If your master or mistress happen to walk the streets, keep on one side, and as much on the level with them as you can, which people observing will either think you do not belong to them, or that you are one of their companions; but if either of them happen to turn back and speak to you, so that you are under the neceffity to take off your hat, use but your thumb and one finger, and scratch your head with the rest.

In winter time light the diningroom fire but two minutes before dinner is served up, that your master may see how saving you are of his coals.

When

When you are ordered to stir up the fire, clean away the ashes from betwixt the bars with the fire-brush.

When you are ordered to call a coach, although it be midnight, go no farther than the door, for fear of being out of the way when you are wanted; and there stand bawling, Coach, Coach, for half an hour.

Although you gentlemen in livery have the misfortune to be treated scurvily by all mankind, yet you make a shift to keep up your spirits, and sometimes arrive at considerable fortunes. I was an intimate friend to one of our brethren, who was footman to a court lady: she had an honourable employment, was sister to an earl, and the widow of a man of quality. She observed something so polite in my friend, the gracefulness with which he tripped before her chair, and put his hair under his hat, that she made him many advances; and one day taking the air in her coach with Tom behind it, the coachman mistook the way, and stopped at a privileged chapel, where the couple were married, and Tom came home in the chariot by his lady's side: but he unfortunately taught her to drink brandy, of which she died, after having pawned all her plate to purchase it, and Tom is now a journeyman maltster.

Boucher, the famous gamester, was another of our fraternity: and when he was worth 50000*l.* he dunned the duke of Buckingham for an arrear of wages in his service; and I could instance many more, particularly another, whose son had one of the chief employments at court; and it is sufficient to give you the following advice, which is to be pert and saucy to all mankind, especially to the

chaplain, the waiting-woman, and the better sort of servants in a person of quality's family, and value not now and then a kicking, or a caning; for your insolence will at last turn to good account; and from wearing a livery, you may probably soon carry a pair of colours.

When you wait behind a chair at meals, keep constantly wriggling the back of the chair, that the person behind whom you stand may know you are ready to attend him.

When you carry a parcel of china plates, if they chance to fall, as it is a frequent misfortune, your excuse must be, that a dog ran across you in the hall; that the chambermaid accidentally pushed the door against you; that a mop stood across the entry, and tripped you up; that your sleeve stuck against the key, or button of the lock.

When your master and lady are talking together in their bedchamber, and you have some suspicion that you or your fellow servants are concerned in what they say, listen at the door for the publick good of all the servants, and join all to take proper measures for preventing any innovations that may hurt the community.

Be not proud in prosperity: you have heard that fortune turns on a wheel; if you have a good place, you are at the top of the wheel. Remember how often you have been stripped, and kicked out of doors, your wages all taken up beforehand, and spent in translated red heeled shoes, second-hand toupees, and repaired laced ruffles, beside a swingeing debt to the alewife and the brandy shop. The neighbouring tapster, who before would beckon you over to a savoury bit of ox cheek in the morning,

ing, give it you gratis, and only score you up for the liquor, immediately after you were packed off in disgrace, carried a petition to your master to be paid out of your wages, whereof not a farthing was due, and then pursued you with bailiffs into every blind cellar. Remember how soon you grew shabby, threadbare, and out at heels; was forced to borrow an old livery coat, to make your appearance while you were looking for a place; and sneak to every house where you had an old acquaintance to steal you a scrap to keep life and soul together; and upon the whole, were in the lowest station of human life, which, as the old ballad says, is that of a skipkennel turned out of place; I say, remember all this now in your flourishing condition. Pay your contributions duly to your late brothers the cadets, who are left to the wide world; take one of them as your dependant to send on your lady's messages, when you have a mind to go to the alehouse: slip him out privately now and then a slice of bread, and a bit of cold meat; your master can afford it; and if he be not yet put upon establishment for a lodging, let him lie in the stable, or the coach-house, or under the back stairs, and recommend him to all the gentlemen who frequent your house as an excellent servant.

To grow old in the office of a footman, is the highest of all indignities: therefore when you find years coming on without hopes of a place at court, a command in the army, a succession to the stewardship, an employment in the revenue, (which two last you cannot obtain without reading and writing) or running away with your master's niece or daughter; I directly advise you to go upon the road, which is the only post of honour left you: there you will

meet many of your old comrades, and live a short life and a merry one, and make a figure at your exit, wherein I will give you some instructions.

The last advice I give you relates to your behaviour when you are going to be hanged; which either for robbing your master, for housebreaking, or going upon the highway, or in a drunken quarrel by killing the first man you meet, may very probably be your lot, and is owing to one of these three qualities; either a love of good fellowship, a generosity of mind, or too much vivacity of spirits. Your good behaviour on this article will concern your whole community: deny the fact with all solemnity of imprecations: a hundred of your brethren, if they can be admitted, will attend about the bar, and be ready upon demand to give you a character before the court: let nothing prevail on you to confess, but the promise of a pardon for discovering your comrades: but I suppose all this to be in vain; for if you escape now, your fate will be the same another day. Get a speech to be written by the best author of Newgate: some of your kind wenches will provide you with a Holland shirt and white cap, crowned with a crimson or black ribbon: take leave cheerfully of all your friends in Newgate: mount the cart with courage; fall on your knees; lift up your eyes; hold a book in your hands, although you cannot read a word; deny the fact at the gallows; kiss and forgive the hangman, and so farewell: you shall be buried in pomp at the charge of the fraternity: the surgeon shall not touch a limb of you; and your fame shall continue until a successor of equal renown succeeds in your place.

CHAP. IV.

Directions to the Coachman.

YOU are strictly bound to nothing, but to step into the box, and carry your master or lady.

Let your horses be so well trained, that when you attend your lady at a visit, they will wait until you slip into a neighbouring alehouse to take a pot with a friend.

When you are in no humour to drive, tell your master that the horses have got a cold, that they want shoeing, that rain does them hurt, and roughens their coat, and rots the harness. This may likewise be applied to the groom.

If your master dines with a country friend, drink as much as you can get; because it is allowed, that a good coachman never drives so well as when he is drunk; and then show your skill by driving to an inch by a precipice; and say, you never drive so well as when drunk.

If you find any gentleman fond of one of your horses, and willing to give you a consideration beside the price; persuade your master to sell him, because he is so vicious that you cannot undertake to drive with him, and is foundered into the bargain.

Get a black-guard boy to watch your coach at the church door on Sundays, that you and your brother coachmen may be merry together at the alehouse, while your master and lady are at church.

Take care that your wheels be good; and get a new set bought as often as you can, whether you are allowed the old as your perquisite or not: in one case it will turn to your honest profit; and in the other, it will be a just punishment on your master's covetousness; and, probably, the coachmaker will consider you too.

CHAP. V.

Directions to the Groom.

YOU are the servant, upon whom the care of your master's honour in all journeys entirely depends; your breast is the sole repository of it. If he travels the country, and lodges at inns, every dram of brandy, every pot of ale extraordinary that you drink, raises his character; and therefore his reputation ought to be dear to you; and I hope you will not stint yourself in either. The smith, the saddler's journeyman, the cook at the inn, the ostler, and the boot-catcher, ought all by your means to partake of your master's generosity: thus his fame will reach from one county to another; and what is a gallon of ale, or a pint of brandy, in his worship's pocket? and although he should be in the number of those, who value their credit less than their purse, yet your care of the former ought to be so much the greater. His horse wanted two removes: your horse wanted nails; his allowance of oats and beans was greater than the journey required; a third part may be retrenched, and turned into ale or brandy; and thus his honour may

may be preserved by your discretion, and less expense to him; or, if he travels with no other servant, the matter is easily made up in the bill between you and the tapster.

Therefore as soon as you alight at the inn, deliver your horses to the stableboy, and let him gallop them to the next pond; then call for a pot of ale, for it is very fit that a christian should drink before a beast. Leave your master to the care of the servants in the inn, and your horses to those in the stable: thus both he and they are left in the properest hands; but you are to provide for yourself; therefore get your supper, drink freely, and go to bed without troubling your master, who is in better hands than yours. The ostler is an honest fellow, and loves horses in his heart; and would not wrong the dumb creatures for the world. Be tender of your master, and order the servants not to wake him too early. Get your breakfast before he is up, that he may not wait for you; make the ostler tell him the roads are very good, and the miles short; but advise him to stay a little longer till the weather clears up, for you are afraid there will be rain, and he will be time enough after dinner.

Let your master mount before you, out of good manners. As he is leaving the inn drop a good word in favour of the ostler, what care he took of the cattle; and add, that you never saw civiller servants. Let your master ride on before, and do you stay until your landlord has given you a dram; then gallop after him through the town or village with full speed, for fear he should want you, and to show your horsemanship.

If you are a piece of a farrier, as every good groom ought to be, get sack, brandy, or strong beer, to rub your horses heels every night, and be not sparing, for (if any be spent) what is left, you know how to dispose of it.

Consider your master's health, and rather than let him take long journeys, say the cattle are weak, and fallen in their flesh with hard riding: tell him of a very good inn five miles nearer than he intended to go; or leave one of his horse's fore shoes loose in the morning; or contrive that the saddle may pinch the beast in his withers; or keep him without corn all night and morning, so that he may tire on the road; or wedge a thin plate of iron between the hoof and the shoe to make him halt; and all this in perfect tenderness to your master.

When you are going to be hired, and the gentleman asks you, Whether you are apt to be drunk; own freely that you love a cup of good ale; but that it is your way, drunk or sober, never to neglect your horses.

When your master has a mind to ride out for the air, or for pleasure, if any private business of your own makes it inconvenient for you to attend him; give him to understand, that the horses want bleeding or purging; that his own pad has got a surfeit; or that the saddle wants stuffing, and his bridle is gone to be mended: this you may honestly do, because it will be no injury to the horses or your master; and at the same time shows the great care you have of the poor dumb creatures.

If there be a particular inn in the town whither you are going, and where you are well acquainted with

with the ostler or tapster, and the people of the house; find fault with the other inns, and recommend your master thither; it may probably be a pot and a dram or two more in your way, and to your master's honour.

If your master sends you to buy hay, deal with those who will be the most liberal to you; for, service being no inheritance, you ought not to let slip any lawful and customary perquisite. If your master buys it himself, he wrongs you, and to teach him his duty, be sure to find fault with the hay as long as it lasts; and if the horses thrive with it, the fault is yours.

Hay and oats, in the management of a skilful groom, will make excellent ale, as well as brandy; but this I only hint.

When your master dines, or lies at a gentleman's house in the country, although there be no groom, or he be gone abroad, or that the horses have been quite neglected, be sure employ some of the servants to hold the horse when your master mounts. This I would have you do, when your master only alights to call in for a few minutes: for brother servants must always befriend one another, and that also concerns your master's honour; because he cannot do less than give a piece of money to him who holds his horse.

In long journeys, ask your master leave to give ale to the horses; carry two quarts full to the stable, pour half a pint into a bowl; and if they will not drink it, you and the ostler must do the best you can; perhaps they may be in a better humour at the next inn; for I would have you never fail to make the experiment.

When

When you go to air your horses in the park, or the fields, give them to a horseboy, or one of the black-guards, who being lighter than you, may be trusted to run races with less damage to the horses, and teach them to leap over hedges and ditches, while you are drinking a friendly pot with your brother grooms: but sometimes you and they may run races yourselves, for the honour of your horses, and of your masters.

Never stint your horses at home in hay and oats, but fill the rack to the top, and the manger to the brim, for you would take it ill to be stinted yourself; although perhaps they may not have the stomach to eat; consider, they have no tongues to ask. If the hay be thrown down, there is no loss, for it will make litter and save straw.

When your master is leaving a gentleman's house in the country, where he has lain a night; then consider his honour; let him know how many servants there are of both sexes, who expect vales; and give them their cue to attend in two lines, as he leaves the house; but desire him not to trust the money with the butler, for fear he should cheat the rest; this will force your master to be more generous: and then you may take occasion to tell your master, that 'squire such a one, whom you lived with last, always gave so much apiece to the common servants, and so much to the housekeeper, and the rest, naming at least double to what he intended to give; but be sure to tell the servants what a good office you did them: this will gain you love, and your master honour.

You may venture to be drunk much oftener than the coachman, whatever he pretends to allege in his own behalf, because you hazard nobody's neck but

but your own; for the horse will probably take so much care of himself, as to come off with only a strain or a shoulderslip.

When you carry your master's riding-coat in a journey, wrap your own in it, and buckle them up close with a strap, but turn your master's inside out, to preserve the outside from wet and dirt; thus, when it begins to rain, your master's coat will be first ready to be given him; and if it get more hurt than yours, he can afford it better, for your livery must always serve its year's apprenticeship.

When you come to your inn with the horses wet and dirty after hard riding, and are very hot, make the ostler immediately plunge them into water up to their bellies, and allow them to drink as much as they please; but be sure to gallop them full speed a mile at least, to dry their skins and warm the water in their bellies. The ostler understands his business, leave all to his discretion, while you get a pot of ale and some brandy at the kitchen fire to comfort your heart.

If your horse drop a fore shoe, be so careful as to alight and take it up: then ride with all speed you can (the shoe in your hand, that every traveller may observe your care) to the next smith on the road, make him put it on immediately, that your master may not wait for you, and that the poor horse may be as short a time as possible without a shoe.

When your master lies at a gentleman's house, if you find the hay and oats are good, complain aloud of their badness; this will get you the name of a diligent servant; and be sure to cram the horses with as much oats as they can eat, while you are there, and you may give them so much the less for some days at the inns, and turn the oats into ale. When you

you leave the gentleman's house, tell your master what a covetous hunks that gentleman was, that you got nothing but buttermilk or water to drink; this will make your master out of pity allow you a pot of ale the more at the next inn: but if you happen to get drunk in a gentleman's house, your master cannot be angry, because it cost him nothing: and so you ought to tell him as well as you can in your present condition, and let him know it is both for his and the gentleman's honour to make a friend's servant welcome.

A master ought always to love his groom, to put him in a handsome livery, and to allow him a silver-laced hat. When you are in this equipage, all the honours he receives on the road are owing to you alone: that he is not turned out of the way by every carrier, is caused by the civility he receives at second hand from the respect paid to your livery.

You may now and then lend your master's pad to a brother servant, or your favourite maid, for a short jaunt, or hire him for a day, because the horse is spoiled for want of exercise; and if your master happens to want his horse, or has a mind to see the stable, curse that rogue the helper, who is gone out with the key.

When you want to spend an hour or two with your companions at the alehouse, and that you stand in need of a reasonable excuse for your stay, go out of the stable door, or the back way, with an old bridle, girth, or stirrup-leather in your pocket; and on your return, come home by the street door with the same bridle, girth, or stirrup-leather dangling in your hand, as if you came from the saddler's, where you were getting the same mended; if you were not missed, all is well; but if you are met by your master, you will

have the reputation of a careful servant. This I have known practised with good success.

CHAP. VI.

Directions to the House Steward and Land Steward.

LORD Peterborough's steward, that pulled down his house, sold the materials, and charged my lord with repairs. Take money for forbearance from tenants. Renew leases, and get by them, and sell woods. Lend my lord his own money. Gilblas said much of this, to whom I refer.

CHAP. VII.

Directions to the Porter.

IF your master be a minister of state, let him be at home to none but his pimp, or chief flatterer, or one of his pensionary writers, or his hired spy and informer, or his printer in ordinary, or his city solicitor, or a landjobber, or his inventor of new funds, or a stockjobber.

CHAP. VIII.

Directions to the Chambermaid.

THE nature of your employment differs according to the quality, the pride, or the wealth of the lady

lady you serve; and this treatise is to be applied to all sorts of families: so that I find myself under great difficulty to adjust the best business, for which you are hired. In a family where there is a tolerable estate, you differ from the housemaid, and in that view I give my directions. Your particular province is your lady's chamber, where you make the bed, and put things in order; and if you live in the country, you take care of rooms, where ladies lie who come into the house, which brings in all the vales that fall to your share. Your usual lover, as I take it, is the coachman; but, if you are under twenty, and tolerably handsome, perhaps a footman may cast his eyes on you.

Get your favourite footman to help you in making your lady's bed; and if you serve a young couple, the footman and you, as you are turning up the bed clothes, will make the prettiest observations in the world; which whispered about will be very entertaining to the whole family, and get among the neighbourhood.

Do not carry down the necessary vessels for the fellows to see, but empty them out of the window, for your lady's credit. It is highly improper for men servants to know, that fine ladies have occasion for such utensils; and do not scour the chamberpot, because the smell is wholesome.

If you happen to break any china with the top of the whisk on the mantletree or the cabinet, gather up the fragments, put them together as well as you can, and place them behind the rest, so that when your lady comes to discover them, you may safely say they were broke long ago, before you came to the service. This will save your lady many an hour's vexation.

It sometimes happens, that a looking-glass is broken by the same means; while you are looking another way, as you sweep the chamber, the long end of the brush strikes against the glass, and breaks it to shivers. This is the extremest of all misfortunes, and all remedy desperate in appearance, because it is impossible to be concealed. Such a fatal accident once happened in a great family, where I had the honour to be a footman; and I will relate the particulars to show the ingenuity of the poor chambermaid on so sudden and dreadful an emergency, which perhaps may help to sharpen your invention, if your evil star should ever give you the like occasion: the poor girl had broken a large japan glass of great value with a stroke of her brush: she had not considered long, when by a prodigious presence of mind she locked the door, stole into the yard, brought a stone of three pound weight into the chamber, laid it on the hearth just under the looking-glass, then broke a pane in the sash window that looked into the same yard, so shut the door and went about her other affairs. Two hours after the lady goes into the chamber, sees the glass broken, the stone lying under, and a whole pane in the window destroyed; from all which circumstances she concluded, just as the maid could have wished, that some idle straggler in the neighbourhood, or perhaps one of the out servants, had through malice, accident, or carelessness, flung in the stone and done the mischief. Thus far all things went well, and the girl concluded herself out of danger: but it was her ill fortune, that a few hours after in came the parson of the parish, and the lady naturally told him the accident, which you may believe had much discomposed

posed her; but the minister, who happened to understand mathematicks, after examining the situation of the yard, the window, and the chimney, soon convinced the lady, that the stone could never reach the looking-glass without taking three turns in its flight from the hand that threw it; and the maid being proved to have swept the room the same morning, was strictly examined, but constantly denied that she was guilty upon her salvation, offering to take her oath upon the Bible before his reverence, that she was as innocent as the child unborn; yet the poor wench was turned off, which I take to have been hard treatment, considering her ingenuity: however, this may be a direction to you in the like case to contrive a story, that will better hang together. For instance, you might say, that while you were at work with a mop or brush, a flash of lightning came suddenly in at the window, which almost blinded you; that you immediately heard the ringing of broken glass on the hearth; that as soon as you recovered your eyes, you saw the looking-glass all broken to pieces: or you may allege, that observing the glass a little covered with dust, and going very gently to wipe it, you suppose the moisture of the air had dissolved the glue or cement, which made it fall to the ground: or as soon as the mischief is done, you may cut the cords that fastened the glass to the wainscot, and so let it fall flat on the ground; run out in a fright, tell your lady, curse the upholsterer; and declare how narrowly you escaped, that it did not fall upon your head. I offer these expedients from a desire I have to defend the innocent; for innocent you certainly must be, if you did not break the glass on purpose, which I would by no means excuse, except upon great provocations.

Oil

Oil the tongs, poker, and fireshovel, up to the top, not only to keep them from rusting, but likewise to prevent meddling people from wasting your master's coals with stirring the fire.

When you are in haste, sweep the dust into a corner of the room, but leave your brush upon it, that it may not be seen, for that would disgrace you.

Never wash your hands, or put on a clean apron, till you have made your lady's bed, for fear of rumpling your apron, or fouling your hands again.

When you bar the window-shuts of your lady's bedchamber at nights, leave open the sashes to let in the fresh air, and sweeten the room against morning.

In the time when you leave the windows open for air, leave books, or something else on the window-seat, that they may get air too.

When you sweep your lady's room, never stay to pick up foul smocks, handkerchiefs, pinners, pincushions, teaspoons, ribbands, slippers, or whatever lies in your way; but sweep all into a corner, and then you may take them up in a lump, and save time.

Making beds in hot weather is a very laborious work, and you will be apt to sweat; therefore, when you find the drops running down from your forehead, wipe them off with a corner of the sheet, that they may not be seen on the bed.

When your lady sends you to wash a china cup, and it happen to fall, bring it up, and swear you did but just touch it with your hand, when it broke into three halves: and here I must inform you, as well as all your fellow-servants, that you ought never to be

without an excuse; it does no harm to your master, and it lessens your fault: as in this instance, I do not commend you for breaking the cup; it is certain you did not break it on purpose; and the thing is possible, that it might break in your hand.

You are sometimes desirous to see a funeral, a quarrel, a man going to be hanged, a wedding, a bawd carted, or the like: as they pass by in the street, you lift up the sash suddenly, there by misfortune it sticks: this was no fault of yours; young women are curious by nature; you have no remedy but to cut the cord, and lay the fault upon the carpenter, unless nobody saw you, and then you are as innocent as any servant in the house.

Wear your lady's smock when she has thrown it off; it will do you credit, save your own linen, and be not a pin the worse.

When you put a clean pillowcase on your lady's pillow, be sure to fasten it well with corking pins, that it may not fall off in the night.

When you spread bread and butter for tea, be sure that all the holes in the loaf be left full of butter, to keep the bread moist against dinner; and let the mark of your thumb be seen only upon one end of every slice to show your cleanliness.

When you are ordered to open or lock any door, trunk, or cabinet, and miss the proper key, or cannot distinguish it in the bunch; try the first key that you can thrust in, and turn it with all your strength, till you open the lock, or break the key; for your lady will reckon you a fool to come back and do nothing.

CHAP. IX.

Directions to the Waitingmaid.

TWO accidents have happened to lessen the comforts and profits of your employment; first, that execrable custom got among ladies of trucking their old clothes for china, or turning them to cover easy chairs, or making them into patchwork for screens, stools, cushions, and the like. The second is, the invention of small chests and trunks with lock and key, wherein they keep the tea and sugar, without which it is impossible for a waitingmaid to live: for, by this means you are forced to buy brown sugar, and pour water upon the leaves, when they have lost all their spirit and taste. I cannot contrive any perfect remedy against either of these two evils. As to the former, I think there should be a general confederacy of all the servants in every family, for the publick good, to drive those china hucksters from the doors; and as to the latter, there is no other method to relieve yourselves, but by a false key, which is a point both difficult and dangerous to compass; but, as to the circumstance of honesty in procuring one, I am under no doubt, when your mistress gives you so just a provocation by refusing you an ancient and legal perquisite. The mistress of the tea shop may now and then give you half an ounce; but that will be only a drop in the bucket: therefore I fear you must be forced, like the rest of your sisters, to run in trust, and pay for it out of your wages, as far as

they will go, which you can easily make up other ways, if your lady be handsome, or her daughters have good fortunes.

If you are in a great family, and my lady's woman, my lord may probably like you, although you are not half so handsome as his own lady. In this case take care to get as much out of him as you can; and never allow him the smallest liberty, not the squeezing of your hand, unless he puts a guinea into it; so by degrees make him pay accordingly for every new attempt, doubling upon him in proportion to the concessions you allow, and always struggling, and threatening to cry out, or tell your lady, although you receive his money: five guineas for handling your breast is a cheap pennyworth, although you seem to resist with all your might; but never allow him the last favour under a hundred guineas, or a settlement of twenty pounds a year for life.

In such a family, if you are handsome, you will have the choice of three lovers; the chaplain, the steward, and my lord's gentleman. I would first advise you to choose the steward; but if you happen to be young with child by my lord, you must take up with the chaplain. I like my lord's gentleman the least of the three; for he is usually vain and saucy from the time he throws off his livery; and if he misses a pair of colours, or a tidewaiter's place, he has no remedy but the highway.

I must caution you particularly against my lord's eldest son: if you are dextrous enough, it is odds that you may draw him in to marry you, and make you a lady: if he be a common rake (and he must be one or t'other) avoid him like Satan; for he stands less in awe of a mother, than my lord does

of

of a wife; and after ten thousand promises, you will get nothing from him, but a big belly or a clap, and probably both together.

When your lady is ill, and after a very bad night is getting a little nap in the morning, if a footman comes with a message to inquire how she does, do not let the compliment be lost, but shake her gently until she wakes; then deliver the message, receive her answer, and leave her to sleep.

If you are so happy as to wait on a young lady with a great fortune, you must be an ill manager if you cannot get five or six hundred pounds for disposing of her. Put her often in mind, that she is rich enough to make any man happy; that there is no real happiness but in love; that she has liberty to choose wherever she pleases, and not by the directions of parents, who never give allowances for an innocent passion; that there are a world of handsome, fine, sweet young gentlemen in town, who would be glad to die at her feet; that the conversation of two lovers is a Heaven upon earth; that love, like death, equals all conditions; that if she should cast her eyes upon a young fellow below her in birth and estate, his marrying her would make him a gentleman; that you saw yesterday on the Mall the prettiest ensign; and that if you had forty thousand pounds it should be at his service. Take care that every body should know what lady you live with; how great a favourite you are; and that she always takes your advice. Go often to St. James's Park; the fine fellows will soon discover you, and contrive to slip a letter into your sleeve or your bosom: pull it out in a fury, and throw it on the ground, unless you find at least two guineas along with it; but in

that case, seem not to find it, and to think he was only playing the wag with you: when you come home, drop the letter carelessly in your lady's chamber; she finds it, is angry; protest you knew nothing of it, only you remember, that a gentleman in the Park struggled to kiss you, and you believe it was he that put the letter into your sleeve or petticoat; and indeed he was as pretty a man as ever you saw: that she may burn the letter if she pleases. If your lady be wise, she will burn some other paper before you, and read the letter when you are gone down. You must follow this practice as often as you safely can; but let him, who pays you best with every letter, be the handsomest man. If a footman presumes to bring a letter to the house to be delivered to you for your lady, although it come from your best customer, throw it at his head; call him impudent rogue and villain, and shut the door in his face: run up to your lady, and as a proof of your fidelity, tell her what you have done.

I could enlarge very much upon this subject, but I trust to your own discretion.

If you serve a lady, who is a little disposed to gallantries, you will find it a point of great prudence how to manage: three things are necessary. First, how to please your lady; secondly, how to prevent suspicion in the husband, or among the family; and lastly, but principally, how to make it most for your own advantage. To give you full directions in this important affair would require a large volume. All assignations at home are dangerous both to your lady and yourself; and therefore contrive, as much as possible, to have them in a third place; especially if your lady, as it is a hundred odds, entertains more lovers

lovers than one, each of whom is often more jealous than a thousand husbands; and very unlucky rencounters may often happen under the best management. I need not warn you to employ your good offices chiefly in favour of those, whom you find most liberal: yet, if your lady should happen to cast an eye upon a handsome footman, you should be generous enough to bear with her humour, which is no singularity, but a very natural appetite: it is still the safest of all home intrigues, and was formerly the least suspected, until of late years it has grown more common. The great danger is, lest this kind of gentry, dealing too often in bad ware, may happen not to be sound; and then your lady and you are in a very bad way, although not altogether desperate.

But to say the truth, I confess it is a great presumption in me to offer you any instructions in the conduct of your lady's amours, wherein your whole sisterhood is already so expert, and deeply learned; although it be much more difficult to compass, than that assistance which my brother footmen give their masters on the like occasion; and therefore I leave this affair to be treated by some abler pen.

When you lock up a silk mantua, or laced head, in a trunk or chest, leave a piece out, that when you open the trunk again, you may know where to find it.

CHAP. X.

Directions to the Housemaid.

IF your master and lady go into the country for a week or more, never wash the bedchamber or dining-room until just the hour before you expect them to return: thus the rooms will be perfectly clean to receive them, and you will not be at the trouble to wash them so soon again.

I am very much offended with those ladies who are so proud and lazy, that they will not be at the pains of stepping into the garden to pluck a rose, but keep an odious implement, sometimes in the bedchamber itself, or at least in a dark closet adjoining, which they make use of to ease their worst necessities; and you are the usual carriers away of the pan; which makes not only the chamber, but even their clothes, offensive to all who come near. Now to cure them of this odious practice, let me advise you, on whom the office lies, to convey away this utensil, that you will do it openly, down the great stairs, and in the presence of the footmen; and if any body knocks, to open the street door, while you have the vessel filled in your hands; this, if any thing can, will make your lady take the pains of evacuating her person in the proper place, rather than expose her filthiness to all the menservants in the house.

Leave a pail of dirty water with the mop in it, a coal-box, a bottle, a broom, a chamberpot, and such

such other unsightly things, either in a blind entry, or upon the darkest part of the backstairs, that they may not be seen; and if people break their shins by trampling on them, it is their own fault.

Never empty the chamberpots until they are quite full: if that happens in the night, empty them into the street; if in the morning, into the garden; for it would be an endless work to go a dozen times from the garret and upper rooms down to the backside; but never wash them in any other liquor except their own: what cleanly girl would be dabbling in other folk's urine? and besides, the smell of stale, as I observed before, is admirable against the vapours; which, a hundred to one, may be your lady's case.

Brush down the cobwebs with a broom that is wet and dirty, which will make them stick the faster to it, and bring them down more effectually.

When you rid up the parlour hearth in a morning, throw the last night's ashes into a sieve; and what falls through, as you carry it down, will serve instead of sand for the rooms and the stairs.

When you have scoured the brasses and irons in the parlour chimney, lay the foul wet clout upon the next chair, that your lady may see you have not neglected your work: observe the same rule, when you clean the brass locks, only with this addition, to leave the marks of your fingers on the doors, to show you have not forgot.

Leave your lady's chamberpot in her bedchamber window all day to air.

Bring up none but large coals to the diningroom and your lady's chamber; they make the best fires, and

and if you find them too big, it is easy to break them on the marble hearth.

When you go to bed, be sure take care of fire; and therefore blow the candle out with your breath, and then thrust it under your bed. Note, the smell of the snuff is very good against vapours.

Persuade the footman, who got you with child, to marry you before you are six months gone; and if your lady asks you, why you would take a fellow who was not worth a groat? let your answer be, That service is no inheritance.

When your lady's bed is made, put the chamber pot under it; but in such a manner, as to thrust the valance along with it, that it may be full in sight, and ready for your lady when she has occasion to use it.

Lock up a cat or a dog in some room or closet, so as to make such a noise all over the house as may frighten away the thieves, if any should attempt to break or steal in.

When you wash any of the rooms toward the street over night, throw the foul water out of the street door; but be sure not to look before you, for fear those on whom the water lights might think you uncivil, and that you did it on purpose. If he who suffers, breaks the windows in revenge, and your lady chides you, and gives positive orders that you should carry the pail down, and empty it in the sink, you have an easy remedy: when you wash an upper room, carry down the pail so as to let the water dribble on the stairs all the way down to the kitchen; by which not only your load will be lighter, but you will convince your lady, that it is better to throw

the water out of the windows, or down the street-door steps: besides, this latter practice will be very diverting to you and the family in a frosty night, to see a hundred people on their noses or backsides before your door, when the water is frozen.

Polish and brighten the marble hearths and chimney pieces with a clout dipt in grease; nothing makes them shine so well; and it is the business of the ladies to take care of their petticoats.

If your lady be so nice that she will have the room scoured with freestone, be sure to leave the marks of the freestone six inches deep round the bottom of the wainscot, that your lady may see your obedience to her orders.

CHAP. XI.

Directions to the Dairymaid.

FATIGUE of making butter: put scalding water in your churn, although in summer, and churn close to the kitchen fire, and with cream of a week old. Keep cream for your sweetheart.

CHAP. XII.

Directions to the Children's Maid.

IF a child be sick, give it whatever it wants to eat or drink, although particularly forbid by the doctor: for what we long for in sickness will do us good; and throw the physick out of the window: the child will love you the better; but bid it not tell. Do the same for your lady when she longs for any thing in sickness, and engage it will do her good.

If your mistress comes to the nursery, and offers to whip a child, snatch it out of her hands in rage, and tell her she is the cruellest mother you ever saw: she will chide, but love you the better. Tell the children stories of spirits, when they offer to cry, &c.

Be sure to wean the children, &c.

CHAP. XIII.

Directions to the Nurse.

IF you happen to let the child fall, and lame it, be sure never confess it; and if it dies, all is safe.

Contrive to be with child as soon as you can, while you are giving suck, that you may be ready for another service, when the child you nurse dies, or is weaned.

CHAP. XIV.

Directions to the Laundress.

IF you singe the linen with the iron, rub the place with flower, chalk, or white powder; and if nothing will do, wash it so long till it be either not to be seen, or torn to rags.

About tearing linen in washing:

When your linen is pinned on the line, or on a hedge, and it rains, whip it off, although you tear it, &c. But the place for hanging them is on young fruit trees, especially in blossom; the linen cannot be torn, and the trees give them a fine smell.

CHAP. XV.

Directions to the Housekeeper.

YOU must always have a favourite footman whom you can depend upon; and order him to be very watchful when the second course is taken off, that it be brought safely to your office, that you and the steward may have a titbit together.

CHAP. XVI.

DIRECTIONS TO THE TUTORESS, OR GOVERNESS.

SAY the children have sore eyes; miss Betty won't take to her book, &c.

Make the misses read French and English novels, and French romances, all the comedies writ in king Charles II and king William's reigns, to soften their nature, and make them tender-hearted, &c.

To the preceding Directions to Servants, the following may be added, as they were both written with the same design, though in a very different manner. It will easily be perceived, that these are to be understood literally, and the others ironically.

THE DUTY OF SERVANTS AT INNS.

BE mounted before your master. When you see him mounted, ride out before him. When he baits at noon, enter the inn gate before him, and call the ostler to hold your master's horse while he alights. Leave your master to the servants of the inn; go you with the horses into the stable; choose a place farthest from the stable door; see the standing be dry; send immediately for fresh straw; see all the old hay out of the rack, and get fresh put in; see your horses girths be loosed and stuffed; take not

off

off the bridles till they are cool, nor saddles in an hour; see their hoofs be well picked; try if the heads of the nails be fast, and whether they be well clinched; if not, send presently for a smith; always stand by while the smith is employed. Give the oats the last thing. Water your horses when you are within a mile of the inn. Never keep above forty yards before or behind your master, unless he commands you. Try the oats by smelling and weighing them; see you have good measure; stand by while your horses are eating their oats.

When you enter your evening inn, let your horses feet be stuffed with cow-dung every night. Observe the same rules, only be sure if any thing be wanting for a smith, let it be done over night.

Know the time your master will set out in the morning: allow him a full hour to get himself ready. Contrive both at morn and noon to eat, so that your master need not stay for you. Do not let the drawer carry the bill to your master, but examine it first carefully and honestly, and then bring it yourself, and be able to account for every article. If the servants have not been civil, tell your master before their faces, when he is going to give them money.

DUTY OF THE OTHER SERVANT, WHERE THERE ARE TWO.

RIDE forty yards behind your master; but be mounted before him. Observe now and then whether his horse's shoes be right. When you come to an inn at noon, give your horse to the ostler; bestir yourself to get a convenient room for your master;

master; bring all his things into his room, full in his sight; inquire what is in the house, see it yourself, and tell your master how you like it. Step yourself now and then into the kitchen to hasten dinner or supper, and observe whether they be cleanly. Taste the ale, and tell your master whether it be good or bad. If he want wine, go you with the drawer and choose a bottle well filled and stopped: if the wine be in hogsheads, desire to taste and smell it; if it be sour, or not clear, or ill-tasted, let your master know it, that he may not be at the charge of wine not fit to be drunk. See the salt be dry and powdered, the bread new and clean, the knives sharp. At night observe the same rules: but first choose him a warm room, with a lock and key in order; then call immediately for the sheets, see them well aired and at a large fire; feel the blankets, bed, bolster, pillow, whether they be dry, and whether the floor under the bed be damp. Let the chamber be that, which has been last lain in; inquire about it. If the bed itself be damp, let it be brought before a large fire, and air it on both sides. That you may forget nothing in the inn, have a fair list of what you want to take out; and when you put them up, compare them with your list.

You are to step now and then into the stable, to see whether the groom performs his duty.

For packing up your things, have a list of linen, &c. In packing take care that no two hard things be together, and that they be wrapped up in a paper, and other waste paper. Remember to put every thing in their proper places in the portmanteau. Stuff the shoes and slippers at the toes with a small lock of hay; fold up the clothes so as that they may

may not be rumpled. When your master is in his room at night, put all his things in such a manner as he has them at home. Learn to have some skill in cookery, that at a pinch you may be able to make your master easy.

The Groom.—Carry with you a stirrup-leather, an awl, twelve horse nails, and a horse's fore shoes, pick, and a hammer, for fear of an accident; and some ends, and packthread, a bottlescrew, knife and penknife, needles, pins, thread, silk, worsted, &c. Some plasters and scissars.

Item. The servants to carry their own things. Have a pocket-book, keep all the bills, date the time and place; and endorse the numbers.

Inquire in every town, if there be any thing worth seeing. Observe the country seats, and ask whom they belong to; and enter them, and the counties where they are.

Search under you master's bed when he is gone up, lest a cat or something else may be under it.

When your master's bed is made, and his things ready, lock the chamber door, and keep the key till he goes to bed; then keep it in your pocket till morn.

Let the servants of the inn be sure to wake you above an hour before your master is to go, that he may have an hour to prepare himself.

If the ostler has been knavish or negligent, do not let him hold your master's horse. Observe the same rule at a gentleman's house; if the groom has not taken care of your horses, do not let him hold your master's.

Inquire at every inn where you stay, what is the best inn in the next town you are to come to; yet

do not rely on that, but likewise as you enter into any town to stay, ask the people which is the best inn, and go to that which most people commend.

See that your master's boots be dried and well liquored over night.

REMARKS

UPON

A BOOK,

ENTITLED,

"The Rights of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH," &c.

Written in the Year 1708, but left unfinished.

REMARKS, &c. *

BEFORE I enter upon a particular examination of this treatise, it will be convenient to do two things:

First, To give some account of the author, together with the motives that might probably engage him in such a work. And,

Secondly, To discover the nature and tendency in general, of the work itself.

The first of these, although it has been objected against, seems highly reasonable, especially in books that instil pernicious principles. For, although a book is not intrinsically much better or worse, according to the stature or complexion of the author, yet when it happens to make a noise, we are apt, and curious, as in other noises, to look about from whence it comes. But however, there is something more in the matter.

If a theological subject be well handled by a layman, it is better received than if it came from a divine †: and that for reasons obvious enough, which although of little weight in themselves, will ever have a great deal with mankind.

* These Remarks, though left unfinished by the dean, and but the slight prolusions of his strength, show how sincere, how able a champion he was of religion and the church.

† The excellent treatise of Mr. *West* (on the Resurrection) and that of lord *Lyttelton* (on the Conversion of St. *Paul*) will afford a remarkable proof of this observation.

But when books are written with ill intentions, to advance dangerous opinions, or destroy foundations; it may be then of real use to know from what quarter they come, and go a good way toward their confutation. For instance, if any man should write a book against the lawfulness of punishing felony with death; and upon inquiry, the author should be found in Newgate, under condemnation for robbing a house; his arguments would, not very unjustly, lose much of their force, from the circumstances he lay under. So, when Milton writ his book of divorces, it was presently rejected as an occasional treatise; because every body knew, he had a shrew for his wife. Neither can there be any reason imagined, why he might not, after he was blind, have writ another upon the danger and inconvenience of eyes. But it is a piece of logick which will hardly pass on the world, that because one man has a sore nose, therefore all the town should put plasters upon theirs. So, if this treatise about the rights of the church should prove to be the work of a man steady in his principles, of exact morals, and profound learning, a true lover of his country, and a hater of Christianity, as what he really believes to be a cheat upon mankind, whom he would undeceive purely for their good; it might be apt to check unwary men, even of good dispositions toward religion. But, if it be found the production of a man soured with age and misfortunes, together with the consciousness of past miscarriages; of one, who, in hopes of preferment, was reconciled to the popish religion; of one, wholly prostitute in life and principles, and only an enemy to religion, because it condemns them: In this case, and this last I find is the universal opinion, he

he is likely to have few proselytes, beside those, who, from a sense of their vitious lives, require to be perpetually supplied by such amusements as this; which serve to flatter their wishes, and debase their understandings.

I know there are some who would fain have it, that this discourse was written by a club of freethinkers, among whom the supposed author only came in for a share. But, sure, we cannot judge so meanly of any party, without affronting the dignity of mankind. If this be so, and if here be the product of all their quotas and contributions, we must needs allow, that freethinking is a most confined and limited talent. It is true indeed, the whole discourse seems to be a motley, inconsistent composition, made up of various shreds of equal fineness, although of different colours. It is a bundle of incoherent maxims and assertions, that frequently destroy one another. But still there is the same flatness of thought and style; the same weak advances toward wit and raillery; the same petulancy and pertness of spirit; the same train of superficial reading; the same threadbare quotation; the same affectation of forming general rules upon false and scanty premises. And lastly, the same vapid venom sprinkled over the whole; which, like the dying impotent bite of a trodden benumbed snake, may be nauseous and offensive, but cannot be very dangerous.

And indeed, I am so far from thinking this libel to be born of several fathers, that it has been the wonder of several others, as well as myself, how it was possible for any man, who appears to have gone the common circle of academical education; who has taken so universal a liberty, and has so entirely laid

aside all regards, not only of Christianity, but common truth and justice; one who is dead to all sense of shame, and seems to be past the getting or losing of a reputation, should, with so many advantages, and upon so unlimited a subject, come out with so poor, so jejune a production. Should we pity, or be amazed at so perverse a talent, which, instead of qualifying an author to give a new turn to old matter, disposes him quite * contrary to talk in an old beaten trivial manner upon topicks wholly new? to make so many sallies into pedantry without a call, upon a subject the most alien, and in the very moments he is declaiming against it, and in an age too, where it is so violently exploded, especially among those readers he proposes to entertain?

I know it will be said, that this is only to talk in the common style of an answerer; but I have not so little policy. If there were any hope of reputation or merit from such victory, I should be apt, like others, to cry up the courage and conduct of an enemy. Whereas to detect the weakness, the malice, the sophistry, the falsehood, the ignorance of such a writer, requires little more than to rank his perfections in such an order, and place them in such a light, that the commonest reader may form a judgment of them.

It may still be a wonder how so heavy a book, written upon a subject in appearance so little instructive or diverting, should survive to three editions, and consequently find a better reception than is usual with such bulky spiritless volumes; and this, in an age, that pretends so soon to be nauseated with

* This is not grammar—it should be the adverb instead of the adjective, "quite *contrariwise*."

what

what is tedious and dull. To which I can only return, that, as burning a book by the common hangman, is a known expedient to make it sell; so, to write a book that deserves such treatment, is another: And a third, perhaps as effectual as either, is to ply an insipid, worthless tract, with grave and learned answers, as Dr. Hickes, Dr. Potter, and Mr. Wotton have done. Such performances, however commendable, have glanced a reputation upon the piece; which owes its life to the strength of those hands and weapons that were raised to destroy it; like flinging a mountain upon a worm, which instead of being bruised, by the advantage of its littleness, lodges under it unhurt.

But neither is this all. For the subject, as unpromising as it seems at first view, is no less than that of Lucretius, to free men's minds from the bondage of religion; and this, not by little hints and by piecemeal, after the manner of those little atheistical tracts that steal into the world, but in a thorough wholesale manner; by making religion, church, Christianity, with all their concomitants, a perfect contrivance of the civil power. It is an imputation often charged on this sort of men, that, by their invectives against religion, they can possibly propose no other end than that of fortifying themselves and others against the reproaches of a vitious life; it being necessary for men of libertine practices, to embrace libertine principles, or else they cannot act in consistence with any reason, or preserve any peace of mind. Whether such authors have this design (whereof I think they have never gone about to acquit themselves) thus much is certain; that no other use is made of such writings: Neither did I ever hear this author's book justified

justified by any person, either whig or tory, except such who are of that profligate character. And I believe, whoever examines it, will be of the same opinion; although indeed such wretches are so numerous, that it seems rather surprising, why the book has had no more editions, than why it should have so many.

Having thus endeavoured to satisfy the curious with some account of this author's character, let us examine what might probably be the motives to engage him in such a work. I shall say nothing of the principal, which is a sum of money; because that is not a mark to distinguish him from any other trader with the press. I will say nothing of revenge and malice, from resentment of the indignities and contempt he has undergone for his crime of apostacy. To this passion he has thought fit to sacrifice order, propriety, discretion, and common sense, as may be seen in every page of his book: but I am deceived, if there were not a third motive as powerful as the other two; and that is, vanity. About the latter end of king James's reign, he had almost finished a learned discourse in defence of the church of Rome, and to justify his conversion: all which, upon the Revolution, was quite out of season. Having thus prostituted his reputation, and at once ruined his hopes, he had no course left, but to show his spite against religion in general; the false pretensions to which had proved so destructive to his credit and fortune: and at the same time, loth to employ the speculations of so many years to no purpose; by an easy turn, the same arguments he had made use of to advance popery, were full as properly levelled by him against Christianity itself; like the image, which, while it

was new and handsome, was worshipped for a saint; and when it came to be old and broken, was still good enough to make a tolerable devil. And therefore, every reader will observe, that the arguments for popery are much the strongest of any in his book, as I shall farther remark when I find them in my way.

There is one circumstance in his titlepage, which I take to be not amiss, where he calls his book, 'Part the First.' This is a project to fright away answerers, and make the poor advocates for religion believe, he still keeps farther vengeance in petto. It must be allowed, he has not wholly lost time while he was of the Romish communion. This very trick he learned from his old father, the pope; whose custom it is to lift up his hand, and threaten to fulminate, when he never meant to shoot his bolts; because the princes of Christendom had learned the secret to avoid or despise them. Dr. Hickes knew this very well, and therefore, in his answer to this Book of Rights, where a second part is threatened, like a rash person he desperately cries, Let it come. But I, who have too much phlegm to provoke angry wits of his standard, must tell the author, that the doctor plays the wag, as if he were sure it were all grimace. For my part, I declare, if he writes a second part, I will not write another answer; or if I do, it shall be published before the other part comes out.

There may have been another motive, although it be hardly credible, both for publishing this work, and threatening a second part: it is soon conceived how far the sense of a man's vanity will transport him. This man must have somewhere heard, that dangerous

gerous enemies have been often bribed to silence with money or preferment: And therefore to show how formidable he is, he has published his first essay; and in hopes of hire to be quiet, has frighted us with his design of another. What must the clergy do in these unhappy circumstances? If they should bestow this man bread enough to stop his mouth, it will but open those of a hundred more, who are every whit as well qualified to rail as he. And truly, when I compare the former enemies to Christianity, such as Socinus, Hobbes, and Spinosa, with such of their successors, as Toland, Asgil, Coward, Gildon, this author of the Rights, and some others; the church appears to me like the sick old lion in the fable, who, after having his person outraged by the bull, the elephant, the horse, and the bear, took nothing so much to heart as to find himself at last insulted by the spurn of an ass.

I will now add a few words, to give the reader some general notion of the nature and tendency of the work itself.

I think I may assert, without the least partiality, that it is a treatise wholly devoid of wit or learning, under the most violent and weak endeavours and pretences to both. That it is replenished throughout with bold, rude, improbable falsehoods, and gross misinterpretations; and supported by the most impudent sophistry, and false logick, I have any where observed. To this he has added a paltry, traditional cant of priestrid and priestcraft, without reason or pretext as he applies it. And when he rails at those doctrines in popery (which no protestant was ever supposed to believe) he leads the reader, however, by the hand, to make applications against the English clergy;

clergy; and then he never fails to triumph, as if he had made a very shrewd and notable stroke. And because the court and kingdom seem disposed to moderation with regard to dissenters, more perhaps than is agreeable to the hot unreasonable temper of some mistaken men among us; therefore, under the shelter of that popular opinion, he ridicules all that is sound in religion, even Christianity itself, under the names of jacobite, tackers, high church, and other terms of factious jargon. All which, if it were to be first rased from his book (as just so much of nothing to the purpose) how little would remain to give the trouble of an answer! To which let me add, that the spirit, or genius, which animates the whole, is plainly perceived to be nothing else but the abortive malice of an old neglected man, who has long lain under the extremes of obloquy, poverty, and contempt, that have soured his temper, and made him fearless. But where is the merit of being bold, to a man that is secure of impunity to his person, and is past apprehension of any thing else? He that has neither reputation nor bread, has very little to lose, and has therefore as little to fear. And as it is usually said, "Whoever values not his own life, is master of "another man's"; so there is something like it in reputation: He that is wholly lost to all regards of truth or modesty, may scatter so much calumny and scandal, that some part may perhaps be taken up before it fall to the ground; because the ill talent of the world is such, that those who will be at pains enough to inform themselves in a malicious story, will take none at all to be undeceived, nay, will be apt with some reluctance to admit a favourable truth.

To

To expostulate, therefore, with this author for doing mischief to religion, is to strew his bed with roses; he will reply in triumph, that this was his design; and I am loth to mortify him, by asserting he has done none at all. For I never yet saw so poor an atheistical scribble, which would not serve as a twig for sinking libertines to catch at. It must be allowed in their behalf, that the faith of Christians is not as a grain of mustard seed in comparison of theirs, which can remove such mountains of absurdities, and submit with so entire a resignation to such apostles. If these men had any share of that reason they pretend to, they would retire into Christianity, merely to give it ease. And therefore men can never be confirmed in such doctrines, until they are confirmed in their vices; which last, as we have already observed, is the principal design of this, and all other writers, against revealed religion.

I am now opening the book which I propose to examine; an employment, as it is entirely new to me, so it is that to which, of all others, I have naturally the greatest antipathy. And indeed, who can dwell upon a tedious piece of insipid thinking, and false reasoning, so long as I am likely to do, without sharing the infection?

But, before I plunge into the depths of the book itself, I must be forced to wade through the shallows of a long preface.

This preface, large as we see it, is only made up of such supernumerary arguments against an independent power in the church, as he could not, without nauseous repetition, scatter into the body of his book: and it is detached, like a forlorn hope, to blunt the enemy's sword that intends to attack him. Now, I think,

think, it will be easy to prove, that the opinion of *imperium in imperio*, in the sense he charges it upon the clergy of England, is what no one divine of any reputation, and very few at all, did ever maintain; and that their universal sentiment in this matter is such, as few protestants did ever dispute. But if the author of the Regale, or two or three more obscure writers, have carried any points farther than Scripture and reason will allow (which is more than I know, or shall trouble myself to inquire) the clergy of England is no more answerable for those, than the laity is for all the folly and impertinence of this treatise. And therefore, that people may not be amused, or think this man is somewhat, that he has advanced or defended any oppressed truth, or overthrown any growing dangerous errours, I will set in as clear a light as I can, what I conceive to be held by the established clergy, and all reasonable protestants in this matter.

Every body knows and allows, that in all government there is an absolute, unlimited, legislative power; which is originally in the body of the people, although, by custom, conquest, usurpation, or other accidents, sometimes fallen into the hands of one, or a few. This in England is placed in the three estates (otherwise called the two houses of parliament) in conjunction with the king. And whatever they please to enact, or to repeal in the settled forms, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil, immediately becomes law, or nullity. Their decrees may be against equity, truth, reason, and religion, but they are not against law: because law is the will of the supreme legislature, and that is themselves. And there is no manner of doubt but the same authority, whenever it pleases, may abolish Christianity, and set up the Jewish, Mahometan,

hometan, and heathen religion. In short, they may do any thing within the compass of human power. And therefore, who will dispute that the same law, which deprived the church not only of lands, misapplied to superstitious uses, but even the tithes and glebes (the ancient and necessary support of parish priests) may take away all the rest, whenever the lawgivers please, and make the priesthood as primitive, as this writer, or others of his stamp, can desire?

But as the supreme power can certainly do ten thousand things more than it ought, so there are several things which some people may think it can do, although it really cannot. For it unfortunately happens, that edicts which cannot be executed will not alter the nature of things. So, if a king and parliament should please to enact, that a woman who has been a month married is *virgo intacta*, would that actually restore her to her primitive state? If the supreme power should resolve a corporal of dragoons to be a doctor of divinity, law, or physick, few, I believe, would trust their souls, fortunes, or bodies, to his direction; because that power is neither fit to judge or teach those qualifications which are absolutely necessary to the several professions. Put the case, that walking on the slack rope were the only talent required by an act of parliament for making a man a bishop; no doubt, when a man had done his feat of activity in form, he might sit in the house of lords, put on his robes and his rochet, go down to his palace, receive and spend his rents; but it requires very little Christianity to believe this tumbler to be one whit more a bishop than he was before, because the law of God has otherwise decreed; which law, although a nation may refuse to receive, it cannot alter in its own nature.

And

And here lies the mistake of this superficial man, who is not able to distinguish between what the civil power can hinder, and what it can do. "If "the parliament can annul ecclesiastical laws, they "must be able to make them, since no greater "power is required for one than the other." See preface, p. 8. This consequence he repeats above twenty times, and always in the wrong. He affects to form a few words into the shape and size of a maxim, then tries it by his ear, and according as he likes the sound or cadence, pronounces it true. Cannot I stand over a man with a great pole, and hinder him from making a watch, although I am not able to make one myself? If I have strength enough to knock a man on the head, does it follow I can raise him to life again? The parliament may condemn all the Greek and Roman authors; can it therefore create new ones in their stead? They may make laws, indeed, and call them canon and ecclesiastical laws, and oblige all men to observe them under pain of high treason. And so may I, who love as well as any man to have in my own family the power in the last resort, take a turnip, then tie a string to it, and call it a watch, and turn away all my servants, if they refuse to call it so too.

For my own part, I must confess that this opinion of the independent power of the church, or *imperium in imperio*, wherewith this writer raises such a dust, is what I never imagined to be of any consequence, never once heard disputed among divines, nor remember to have read, otherwise than as a scheme in one or two authors of middle rank, but with very little weight laid on it. And I dare believe, there is hardly one divine in ten that ever once thought of

this matter. Yet to see a large swelling volume written only to encounter this doctrine, what could one think less, than that the whole body of the clergy were perpetually tiring the press and the pulpit with nothing else?

I remember some years ago a virtuoso writ a small tract about worms, proved them to be in more places than was generally observed, and made some discoveries by glasses. This having met with some reception, presently the poor man's head was full of nothing but worms; all we eat and drink, all the whole consistence of human bodies, and those of every other animal, the very air we breathed, in short, all nature throughout was nothing but worms: and, by that system, he solved all difficulties, and from thence all causes in phlilosophy. Thus it has fared with our author, and his independent power. The attack against occasional conformity, the scarcity of coffee, the invasion of Scotland, the loss of kerseys and narrow cloths, the death of king William, the author's turning papist for preferment, the loss of the battle of Almanza, with ten thousand other misfortunes, are all owing to this *imperium in imperio*.

It will be therefore necessary to set this matter in a clear light, by inquiring whether the clergy have any power independent of the civil, and of what nature it is.

Whenever the Christian religion was embraced by the civil power in any nation, there is no doubt but the magistrates and senates were fully instructed in the rudiments of it. Besides, the Christians were so numerous, and their worship so open before the conversion of princes, that their discipline, as well as doctrine,

doctrine, could not be a secret: they saw plainly a subordination of ecclesiasticks, bishops, priests, and deacons: that these had certain powers and employments different from the laity: that the bishops were consecrated, and set apart for that office by those of their own order: that the presbyters and deacons were differently set apart, always by the bishops: that none but the ecclesiasticks presumed to pray or preach in places set apart for God's worship, or to administer the Lord's supper: that all questions, relating either to discipline or doctrine, were determined in ecclesiastical conventions. These and the like doctrines and practices, being most of them directly proved, and the rest, by very fair consequence, deduced from the words of our Saviour and his apostles, were certainly received as a divine law, by every prince or state which admitted the Christian religion: and consequently, what they could not justly alter afterward, any more than the common laws of nature. And therefore, although the supreme power can hinder the clergy or church from making any new canons, or executing the old; from consecrating bishops, or refuse those that they do consecrate; or, in short, from performing any ecclesiastical office, as they may from eating, drinking, and sleeping; yet they cannot themselves perform those offices, which are assigned to the clergy by our Saviour and his apostles; or, if they do, it is not according to the divine institution, and consequently, null and void. Our Saviour tells us, "His kingdom is not of this world;" and therefore, to be sure, the world is not of his kingdom; nor can ever please him by interfering in the administration of it, since he has appointed ministers of his own,

and has empowered and instructed them for that purpose: so that I believe the clergy, who, as he says, are good at distinguishing, would think it reasonable to distinguish between their power, and the liberty of exercising this power. The former they claim immediately from Christ; and the latter, from the permission, connivance, or authority of the civil government; with which the clergy's power, according to the solution I have given, cannot possibly interfere.

But, this writer, setting up to form a system upon stale, scanty topicks, and a narrow circle of thought, falls into a thousand absurdities. And for a farther help, he has a talent of rattling out phrases, which seem to have sense, but have none at all: the usual fate of those who are ignorant of the force and compass of words, without which, it is impossible for a man to write either pertinently, or intelligibly, upon the most obvious subjects.

So, in the beginning of his preface, page 4, he says, "The church of England, being established by "acts of parliament, is a perfect creature of the civil "power; I mean the polity and discipline of it, and "it is that which makes all the contention; for as to "the doctrines expressed in the articles, I do not find "high church to be in any manner of pain; but "they who lay claim to most orthodoxy can distin-"guish themselves out of them." It is observable in this author, that his style is naturally harsh and ungrateful to the ear, and his expressions mean and trivial; but whenever he goes about to polish a period, you may be certain of some gross defect in propriety or meaning: so, the lines just quoted, seem to run easily over the tongue; and upon examination,

nation, they are perfect nonsense and blunder: to speak in his own borrowed phrase, what is contained in the idea of established? Surely, not existence. Does establishment give being to a thing? He might have said the same thing of Christianity in general, or the existence of God, since both are confirmed by acts of parliament. But, the best is behind: for, in the next line, having named the church half a dozen times before, he now says, he means only the polity and discipline of it: as if, having spoken in praise of the art of physick, a man should explain himself, that he meant only the institution of a college of physicians into a president and fellows. And it will appear, that this author, however versed in the practice, has grossly transgressed the rules of nonsense (whose property it is neither to affirm nor deny) since every visible assertion gathered from those few lines is absolutely false: for, where was the necessity of excepting the doctrines expressed in the articles, since these are equally creatures of the civil power, having been established by acts of parliament as well as the others? But, the church of England is no creature of the civil power, either as to its polity, or doctrines. The fundamentals of both were deduced from Christ and his apostles, and the instructions of the purest and earliest ages; and were received as such by those princes or states who embraced Christianity, whatever prudential additions have been made to the former by human laws, which alone can be justly altered or annulled by them.

What I have already said would, I think, be a sufficient answer to his whole preface, and indeed to the greatest part of his book, which is wholly turned

upon battering down a sort of independent power in the clergy; which few or none of them ever claimed or defended. But there being certain peculiarities in this preface, that very much set off the wit, the learning, the raillery, reasoning, and sincerity of the author; I shall take notice of some of them, as I pass.——

But here, I hope, it will not be expected, that I should bestow remarks upon every passage in this book, that is liable to exception for ignorance, falsehood, dulness, or malice. Where he is so insipid, that nothing can be struck out for the reader's entertainment, I shall observe Horace's rule:

Quæ desperes tractata nitescere posse, relinquas.

Upon which account I shall say nothing of that great instance of his candour and judgment in relation to Dr. Stillingfleet, who (happening to lie under his displeasure upon the fatal test of *imperium in imperio*) is high church and jacobite, took the oaths of allegiance to save him from the gallows *, and subscribed the articles only to keep his preferment: whereas the character of that prelate is universally known to have been directly the reverse of what this writer gives him.

But, before he can attempt to ruin this damnable opinion of two independent powers, he tells us,

* Page 5, he quotes bishop Stillingfleet's vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, where the bishop says, that a man might be very right in the belief of an article, though mistaken in the explication of it. Upon which Tindal observes: "These men "treat the articles as they do the oath of allegiance, which, they "say, obliges them not actually to assist the government, but to "do nothing against it; that is, nothing that would bring them "to the gallows."

page

page 6, " It will be necessary to show what is con-
" tained in the idea of government." Now, it is to be understood, that this refined way of speaking was introduced by Mr. Locke; after whom the author limps as fast as he is able. All the former philosophers in the world, from the age of Socrates to ours, would have ignorantly put the question, *Quid eſt imperium?* But now, it seems, we must vary our phrase: and since our modern improvement of human understanding, instead of desiring a philosopher to describe or define a mouse-trap, or tell me what it is; I must gravely ask, what is contained in the idea of a mouse-trap? But then to observe how deeply this new way of putting questions to a man's self makes him enter into the nature of things; his present business is to show us, what is contained in the idea of government. The company knows nothing of the matter, and would gladly be instructed; which he does in the following words, p. 6.

" It would be in vain for one intelligent being to
" pretend to set rules to the actions of another, if
" he had it not in his power to reward the compli-
" ance with, or punish the deviations from his rules,
" by some good, or evil, which is not the natural
" consequence of those actions; since the forbidding
" men to do or forbear an action, on the account of
" that convenience or inconvenience which attends
" it, whether he who forbids it will or no, can be no
" more than advice."

I shall not often draw such long quotations as this, which I could not forbear to offer as a specimen of the propriety and perspicuity of this author's style. And indeed, what a light breaks out upon us

all, as soon as we have read these words! how thoroughly are we instructed in the whole nature of government! what mighty truths are here discovered; and how clearly conveyed to our understanding! and therefore, let us melt this refined jargon into the old style for the improvement of such who are not enough conversant in the new.

If the author were one who used to talk like one of us, he would have spoke in this manner: "I think it necessary to give a full and perfect definition of government, such as will show the nature and all the properties of it; and my definition is thus: One man will never cure another of stealing horses, merely by minding him of the pains he has taken, the cold he has got, and the shoe-leather he has lost, in stealing that horse; nay, to warn him, that the horse may kick or fling him, or cost him more than he is worth in hay and oats, can be no more than advice. For, the gallows is not the natural effect of robbing on the highway, as heat is of fire; and therefore, if you will govern a man, you must find out some other way of punishment than what he will inflict upon himself."

Or, if this will not do, let us try it in another case (which I instanced before) and in his own terms. Suppose he had thought it necessary (and I think it was as much so as the other) to show us what is contained in the idea of a mouse-trap, he must have proceeded in these terms: "It would be in vain for an intelligent being to set rules for hindering a mouse from eating his cheese, unless he can inflict upon that mouse some punishment, which is not the natural consequence of eating the cheese. For, to tell her, it may lie heavy on her stomach, that she will

will grow too big to get back into her hole, and the like, can be no more than advice; therefore, we must find out some way of punishing her, which has more inconveniencies than she will ever suffer by the mere eating of cheese." After this, who is so slow of understanding, as not to have in his mind a full and complete idea of a mouse-trap? Well.—The Freethinkers may talk what they please of pedantry, and cant, and jargon of schoolmen, and insignificant terms in the writings of the clergy, if ever the most perplexed and perplexing follower of Aristotle, from Scotus to Suarez, could be a match for this author!

But the strength of his arguments is equal to the clearness of his definitions. For, having most ignorantly divided government into three parts, whereof the first contains the other two; he attempts to prove that the clergy possess none of these by a divine right. And he argues thus, p. vii. "As to "a legislative power, if that belongs to the clergy "by divine right, it must be when they are assembled in convocation: but the 25th Hen. VIII, "c. 19, is a bar to any such divine right, because "that act makes it no less than a præmunire for "them, so much as to meet without the king's "writ, &c." So that the force of his argument lies here; if the clergy had a divine right, it is taken away by 25th of Henry the Eighth. And as ridiculous as this argument is, the preface and book are founded upon it.

Another argument against the legislative power in the clergy of England is, p. viii, that Tacitus tells us; that in great affairs, the Germans consulted the whole body of the people: "De minoribus rebus "principes consultant, de majoribus omnes: Ita tamen,

men, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertrectentur." Tacitus de Moribus & Populis Germaniæ. Upon which Tindal observes thus: "De majoribus omnes," was a fundamental among our ancestors long before they arrived in Great Britain, and matters of religion were ever reckoned among their majora. (See Pref. p. viii, and ix.) Now it is plain, that our ancestors, the Saxons, came from Germany: It is likewise plain, that religion was always reckoned by the heathens among their majora; and it is plain, the whole body of the people could not be the clergy, and therefore the clergy of England have no legislative power.

Thirdly, p. ix, They have no legislative power, because Mr. Washington, in his "Observations on "the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of Eng-"land, shows from undeniable authorities, that in "the time of William the Conqueror, and several "of his successors, there were no laws enacted con-"cerning religion, but by the great council of the "kingdom." I hope likewise, Mr. Washington observes, that this great council of the kingdom, as appears by undeniable authorities, was sometimes entirely composed of bishops and clergy, and called the parliament, and often consulted upon affairs of state, as well as church, as it is agreed by twenty writers of those ages; and if Mr. Washington says otherwise, he is an author just fit to be quoted by beaux.

Fourthly.—But it is endless to pursue this matter any farther; in that it is plain, the clergy have no divine right to make laws; because Henry VIII, Edward VI, and queen Elizabeth, with their parliaments,

ments, will not allow it them. Now, without examining what divine right the clergy have, or how far it extends; is it any sort of proof that I have no right, because a stronger power will not let me exercise it? or, does all that this author says through his preface, or book itself, offer any other sort of argument but this, or what he deduces the same way?

But his arguments and definitions are yet more supportable, than the grossness of historical remarks, which are scattered so plentifully in his book, that it would be tedious to enumerate, or to show the fraud and ignorance of them. I beg the reader's leave to take notice of one here just in my way; and the rather, because I design for the future to let hundreds of them pass without farther notice. "When," says he, p. x, "by the abolishing of the "pope's power, things were brought back to their "ancient channel, the parliament's right in making "ecclesiastical laws revived of course." What can possibly be meant by this "ancient channel?" Why, the channel that things ran in before the pope had any power in England: that is to say, before Austin the monk converted England; before which time, it seems, the parliament had a right to make ecclesiastical laws. And what parliament could this be? Why the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, met at Westminster.

I cannot here forbear reproving the folly and pedantry of some lawyers, whose opinions this poor creature blindly follows, and renders yet more absurd by his comments. The knowledge of our constitution can be only attained by consulting the earliest English histories, of which those gentlemen

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seem utterly ignorant, farther than a quotation or index. They would fain derive our government as now constituted, from antiquity: And because they have seen Tacitus quoted for his Majoribus omnes; and have read of the Goths military institution in their progress and conquests, they presently dream of a parliament. Had their reading reached so far, they might have deduced it much more fairly from Aristotle and Polybius; who both distinctly name the composition of *rex*, *seniores*, *et populus*; and the latter, as I remember particularly, with the highest approbation. The princes in the Saxon Heptarchy did indeed call their nobles sometimes together upon weighty affairs, as most other princes of the world have done in all ages. But, they made war and peace, and raised money, by their own authority: they gave or mended laws by their charters, and they raised armies by their tenures. Besides, some of those kingdoms fell in by conquests, before England was reduced under one head, and therefore could pretend no rights, but by the concessions of the conqueror.

Farther, which is more material, upon the admission of Christianity, great quantities of land were acquired by the clergy, so that the great council of the nation was often entirely of churchmen, and ever a considerable part. But our present constitution is an artificial thing, not fairly to be traced, in my opinion, beyond Henry I. Since which time it has in every age admitted several alterations; and differs now as much, even from what it was then, as almost any two species of government described by Aristotle. And it would be much more reasonable to affirm, that the government of Rome continued

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the same under Justinian, as it was in the time of Scipio, because the senate and consuls still remained, although the power of both had been, for several hundred years, transferred to the emperors.

Remarks on the Preface.

Page iv, v. "IF men of opposite sentiments "can subscribe the same articles, they are as much "at liberty as if there were none." May not a man subscribe the whole articles, because he differs from another in the explication of one? how many oaths are prescribed, that men may differ in the explication of some part of them? Instance, &c.

Page vi. "Idea of Government." A canting pedantic way, learned from Locke; and how prettily he shows it. Instance—

Page vii. "25 Hen. VIII, c. 19, is a bar to any "such divine right [of a legislative power in the "Clergy.]" Absurd to argue against the clergy's divine right, because of the statute of Henry VIII. How does that destroy divine right? The sottish way of arguing; from what the parliament can do; from their power, &c.

Page viii. "If the parliament did not think they "had a plenitude of power in this matter, they "would not have damned all the canons of 1640." What does he mean? A grave divine could not answer all his playhouse and Alsatia * cant, &c. He has read Hudibras, and many plays.

* A ludicrous name for *White Friars*, which was formerly a privileged place, and consequently a receptacle for sharpers.

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Page viii. " If the parliament can annul ecclesi-
" astical laws, they must be able to make them." Distinguish, and show the silliness, &c.

Ibid. All that he says against the discipline, he might say the same against the doctrine, nay, against the belief of a God, viz. That the legislature might forbid it. The church forms and contrives canons; and the civil power, which is compulsive, confirms them.

Page ix. " There were no laws enacted but by the
" great council of the kingdom." And that was very often, chiefly, only bishops.

Ibid. " Laws settled by parliament to punish the
" clergy." What laws were those?

Page x. " The people are bound to no laws but
" of their own choosing," It is fraudulent; for they may consent to what others choose, and so people often do.

Page xiv, paragraph 6. " The clergy are not sup-
" posed to have any divine legislature, because that
" must be superiour to all worldly power; and then
" the clergy might as well forbid the parliament to
" meet but when and where they please, &c." No such consequence at all. They have a power exclusive from all others. Ordained to act as clergy, but not govern in civil affairs; nor act without leave of the civil power.

Page xxv. " The parliament suspected the love
" of power natural to churchmen." Truly, so is the love of pudding, and most other things desirable in this life; and in that they are like the laity, as in all other things that are not good. And therefore, they are held not in esteem for what they are like in, but

for their virtues. The true way to abuse them with effect, is to tell us some faults of theirs, that other men have not, or not so much of as they, &c. Might not any man speak full as bad of senates, diets, and parliaments, as he can do about councils; and as bad of princes, as he does of bishops?

Page xxxi. "They might as well have made cardinals Campegi and de Chinuchii, bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, as have enacted that their several sees and bishopricks were utterly void." No. The legislature might determine who should not be a bishop there, but not make a bishop.

Ibid. "Were not a great number deprived by parliament upon the Restoration?" Does he mean presbyters? What signifies that?

Ibid. "Have they not trusted this power with our princes?" Why ay. But that argues not right, but power. Have they not cut off a king's head? &c. The church must do the best they can, if not what they would.

Page xxxvi. "If tithes and first-fruits are paid to spiritual persons as such, the king or queen is the most spiritual person, &c." As if the first-fruits, &c. were paid to the king, as tithes to a spiritual person.

Page xliii. "King Charles II thought fit that the bishops in Scotland should hold their bishopricks during will and pleasure; I do not find that high church complained of this as an encroachment, &c." No; but as a pernicious counsel of lord Loch.

Page xliv. "The common law judges have a power to determine, whether a man has a legal right to

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" the sacrament." They pretend it, but what we complain of as a most abominable hardship, &c.

Page xlv. " Giving men thus blindly to the " Devil, is an extraordinary piece of complaisance " to a lay chancellor." He is something in the right; and therefore it is a pity there are any; and I hope the church will provide against it. But, if the sentence be just, it is not the person, but the contempt. And if the author attacks a man on the highway, and takes but two pence, he shall be sent to the gallows, more terrible to him than the devil, for his contempt of the law, &c. Therefore he need not complain of being sent to Hell.

Page lxiv. Mr. Lesley may carry things too far, as it is natural, because the other extreme is so great. But what he says of the king's losses, since the church lands were given away, is too great a truth, &c.

Page lxxvi. " To which I have nothing to plead, " except the zeal I have for the church of England." You will see some pages farther, what he means by the church; but it is not fair, not to begin with telling us what is contained in the idea of a church, &c.

Page lxxxiii. " They will not be angry with me " for thinking better of the church than they do, &c." No, but they will differ from you; because the worse the queen is pleased you think her better. I believe the church will not concern themselves much about your opinion of them, &c.

Page lxxxiv. " But the popish, eastern, presby- " terian and jacobite clergy, &c." This is like a general pardon, with such exceptions as make it useless, if we compute it, &c.

Page lxxxvii. " Misapplying of the word church, " &c." This is cavilling. No doubt his project is for

for exempting the people; but that is not what in common speech we usually mean by the church. Besides, who does not know that distinction?

Ibid. "Constantly apply the same ideas to "them." This is in old English, meaning the same thing.

Page lxxxix. "Demonstrates I could have no "design but the promoting of truth, &c." Yes, several designs, as money, spleen, atheism, &c. What? will any man think truth was his design, and not money and malice? Does he expect the house will go into a committee for a bill to bring things to his scheme, to confound every thing? &c.

Some deny Tindal to be author, and produce stories of his dulness and stupidity. But what is there in all this book, that the dullest man in England might not write, if he were angry and bold enough, and had no regard to truth?

REMARKS UPON THE BOOK, &c.

Page 4. "WHETHER Lewis XIV has such "a power over Philip V?" He speaks here of the unlimited, uncontrollable authority of fathers. A very foolish question; and his discourse hitherto, of government, weak and trivial, and liable to objections.

Ibid. "Whom he is to consider not as his own, "but the Almighty's workmanship." A very likely consideration for the ideas of the state of nature.

A very wrong deduction of paternal government; but that is nothing to the dispute, &c.

Page 12. " And as such might justly be pu-
" nished by every one in the state of nature." False; he does not seem to understand the state of nature, although he has borrowed it from Hobbes, &c.

Page 14. " Merely speculative points, and other
" indifferent things, &c." And why are speculative opinions so insignificant? do not men proceed in their practice according to their speculations? so, if the author were a chancellor, and one of his speculations were, that the poorer the clergy the better; would not that be of great use, if a cause came before him of tithes or church-lands?

Ibid. " Which can only be known by examining
" whether men had any power in the state of nature
" over their own, or others actions, in these matters." No, that is a wrong method, unless where religion has not been revealed; in natural religion, &c.

Ibid. " Nothing at first sight can be more ob-
" vious, than that in all religious matters, none
" could make over the right of judging for him-
" self, since that would cause his religion to be ab-
" solutely at the disposal of another." At his rate of arguing (I think I do not misrepresent him, and I believe he will not deny the consequence) a man may profess heathenism, mahometanism, &c. gain as many proselytes as he can; and they may have their assemblies, and the magistrate ought to protect them, provided they do not disturb the state: and they may enjoy all secular preferments, be lords chancellors, judges, &c. But there are some opinions in several religions, which, although they do not directly make men rebel, yet lead to it. Nay we might have

temples for idols, &c. A thousand such absurdities follow from his general notions, and ill-digested schemes. And we see in the Old Testament, that kings were reckoned good or ill, as they suffered or hindered image-worship and idolatry, &c. which was limiting conscience.

Page 15. " Men may form what clubs, compa-
" nies, or meetings they think fit, &c. which the
" magistrate, as long as the publick sustains no da-
" mage, cannot hinder, &c." This is false; although the publick sustain no damage, they will forbid clubs where they think danger may happen.

Page 16. " The magistrate is as much obliged
" to protect them in the way they choose of wor-
" shipping him, as in any other indifferent matter."
—Page 17. " The magistrate to treat all his sub-
" jects alike, how much soever they differ from him
" or one another in these matters." This shows, that although they be Turks, Jews, or heathens, it is so. But we are sure Christianity is the only true religion, &c. and therefore it should be the magistrate's chief care to propagate it; and that God should be worshipped in that form, that those who are the teachers think most proper, &c.

Page 18. " So that persecution is the most com-
" prehensive of all crimes, &c." But he has not told us what is included in the idea of persecution. State it right.

Ibid. " But here it may be demanded, if a man's
" conscience make him do such acts, &c." This does not answer the above objection: For, if the publick be not disturbed with atheistical principles preached, nor immoralities, all is well. So that still men may be Jews, Turks, &c.

Page 22. " The same reason which obliges them " to make statutes of mortmain, and other laws, " against the people's giving estates to the clergy, " will equally hold for their taking them away when " given." A great security for property! Will this hold to any other society in the state, as merchants, &c. or only to ecclesiasticks? A petty project: Forming general schemes requires a deeper head than this man's.

Ibid. " But the good of the society being the " only reason of the magistrate's having any power " over men's properties, I cannot see why he should " deprive his subjects of any part thereof, for the " maintenance of such opinions as have no tendency " that way, &c." Here is a paragraph (vide also infra) which has a great deal in it. The meaning is, that no man ought to pay tithes, who does not believe what the minister preaches. But how came they by this property? When they purchased the land, they paid only for so much; and the tithes were exempted. It is an older title than any man's estate is; and if it were taken away to morrow, it could not, without a new law, belong to the owners of the other nine parts, any more than impropriations do.

Ibid. " For the maintenance of such opinions, " as no ways contribute to the publick good." By such opinions as the publick receive no advantage by, he must mean Christianity.

Page 23. " Who by reason of such articles are " divided into different sects." A pretty cause of sects! &c.

Page 34. " So the same reason, as often as it " occurs, will oblige him to leave that church." This is an excuse for his turning papist.

Ibid.

Ibid. " Unless you suppose churches like traps, " easy to admit one; but when once he is in, there " he must always stick, either for the pleasure or " profit of the trap-setters." Remark his wit.

Page 20. " Nothing can be more absurd than " maintaining there must be two independent " powers in the same society, &c." This abominably absurd; show it.

Page 33. " The whole hierarchy as built on it, " must necessarily fall to the ground, and great will " be the fall of this spiritual Babylon." I will do him justice, and take notice, when he is witty, &c.

Page 36. " For if there may be two such [in- " dependent powers] in every society on Earth, " why may there not be more than one in Heaven?" A delicate consequence.

Page 37. " Without having the less, he could " not have the greater, in which that is contained." Sophistical; instance wherein.

Page 42. " Some since, subtler than the Jews, " have managed commutations more to their own " advantage, by enriching themselves, and beggar- " ing, if Fame be not a liar, many an honest dis- " senter." It is fair to produce witnesses, is she a liar or not? The report is almost impossible. Commutations were contrived for roguish registers and proctors, and lay chancellors, but not for the clergy.

Page 43. " Kings and people, who (as the In- " dians do the Devil) adored the pope out of fear." I am in doubt, whether I shall allow that for wit or not, &c. Look you, in these cases, preface it thus: If one may use an old saying.

Page 44. " One reason why the clergy make " what they call schism, to be so heinous a sin." There it is now; because he has changed churches, he ridicules schism; as Milton wrote for divorces, because he had an ill wife. For ten pages on, we must give the true answer, that makes all these arguments of no use.

Page 60. " It possibly will be said, I have all " this while been doing these gentlemen a great deal " of wrong." To do him justice, he sets forth the objections of his adversaries with great strength, and much to their advantage. No doubt those are the very objections we would offer.

Page 68. " Their executioner." He is fond of this word in many places, yet there is nothing in it farther than it is the name for the hangman, &c.

Page 69. " Since they exclude both from having " any thing in the ordering of church matters." Another part of his scheme: for, by this, the people ought to execute ecclesiastical offices without distinction, for he brings the other opinion as an absurd one.

Page 72. " They claim a judicial power, and by " virtue of it, the government of the church, and " thereby (pardon the expression) become traitors " both to God and man." Who does he desire to pardon him? or is this meant of the English clergy? so it seems. Does he desire them to pardon him? they do it as Christians. Does he desire the government to do it? but then how can they make examples? He says, the clergy do so, &c. so he means all.

Page 74 " I would gladly know what they " mean by giving the Holy Ghost." Explain what

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is really meant by giving the Holy Ghost, like a king empowering an ambassador *.

Page 79. " The popish clergy make very bold " with the Three Persons of the Trinity." Why then, don't mix them; but we see whom this glances on most. As to the *Congé d' élire*, and *Nolo episcopari*, not so absurd; and if omitted, why changed.

Page 78. " But not to digress"—Pray does he call scurrility upon the clergy, a digression? The apology needless, &c.

Ibid. " A clergyman, it is said, is God's ambas- " sador." But you know an ambassador may have a secretary, &c.

Ibid. " Call their pulpit speeches the word of " God." That is a mistake.

Page 79. " Such persons to represent him." Are not they that own his power, fitter to represent him than others? Would the author be a fitter person?

Ibid. " Puffed up with intolerable pride and inso- " lence." Not at all; for where is the pride to be employed by a prince, whom so few own, and whose being is disputed by such as this author?

Ibid. " Perhaps from a poor servitor, &c. to be " a prime minister in God's kingdom." That is right. God takes notice of the difference between poor servitors, &c. Extremely foolish—show it. The argument lies strongly against the apostles, poor fishermen; and St. Paul, a tent maker. So gross and idle!

Page 80. " The formality of laying hand over " head on a man." A pun; but an old one. I remember, when Swan made that pun first, he was severely checked for it.

* See Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Book v, §. 77.

Ibid. " What more is required to give one a " right, &c." Here show, what power is in the church, and what in the state, to make priests.

Page 85. " To bring men into, and not turn " them out of the ordinary way of salvation." Yes; but as one rotten sheep does mischief—and do you think it reasonable, that such a one as this author should converse with Christians, and weak ones?

Page 85. See his fine account of spiritual punishment.

Page 87. " The clergy affirm, that if they had " not the power to exclude men from the church, " its unity could not be preserved." So to expel an ill member from a college, would be the way to divide the college; as in All-Souls, &c. Apply it to him.

Page 88. " I cannot see but it is contrary to the " rules of charity, to exclude men from the church, " &c." All this turns upon the falsest reasoning in the world. So, if a man be imprisoned for stealing a horse, he is hindered from other duties: And you might argue, that a man who does ill, ought to be more diligent in minding other duties, and not to be debarred from them. It is for contumacy and rebellion against that power in the church which the law has confirmed. So a man is outlawed for a trifle, upon contumacy.

Page 92. " Obliging all by penal laws to receive " the sacrament." This is false.

Page 93. " The want of which means can only " harden a man in his impenitence." It is for his being hardened, that he is excluded. Suppose a son robs his father in the highway, and his father will not see him till he restores the money, and owns his fault. It is hard to deny him paying his duty in other things, &c. How absurd this!

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Page 95. " And that only they had a right to " give it." Another part of his scheme, that the people have a right to give the sacrament. See more of it, p. 135 and 137.

Page 96. " Made familiar to such practices by " the heathen priests." Well; and this shows the necessity of it for peace sake. A silly objection of this and other enemies to religion, to think to disgrace it by applying heathenism, which only concerns the political part, wherein they were as wise as others, and might give rules. Instance, in some, &c.

Page 98. " How differently from this do the " great pretenders to primitive practice act, &c." This a remarkable passage. Does he condemn or allow this mysterious way? It seems the first; and therefore these words are a little turned, but infallibly stood in the first draught as a great argument for popery.

Page 100. " They dress them up in a Sanbe- " nito." So, now we are to answer for the Inquisition. One thing is, that he makes the fathers guilty of asserting most of the corruptions about the power of priests.

Page 104. " Some priests assume to themselves " an arbitrary power of excluding men from the " Lord's Supper." His scheme; that any body may administer the sacraments, women, or children, &c.

Page 108. " One no more than another can be " reckoned a priest." See his scheme. Here he disgraces what the law enacts, about the manner of consecrating, &c.

Page 118. " Churches serve to worse purposes " than bear-gardens." This from Hudibras.

Page 119. " In the time of that wise heathen " Ammianus Marcellinus." Here he runs down all Christianity in general.

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Page 120. " I shall, in the following part of my " discourse, show that this doctrine is so far from " serving the ends of religion, that 1. It prevents the " spreading of the Gospel, &c." This independent power in the church is like the worms; being the cause of all diseases.

Page 125. " How easily could the Roman em- " perors have destroyed the church ?" Just as if he had said; how easily could Herod kill Christ while a child, &c.

Page 125. " The people were set agains t bishops " by reason of their tyranny." Wrong; for the bishops were no tyrants: their power was swallowed up by the popes, and the people desired they should have more. It was the regulars that tyrannised and formed priestcraft. He is ignorant.

Page 139. " He is not bound by the laws of " Christ to leave his friends in order to be baptized, " &c." This directly against the Gospel.—One would think him an emissary, by his preaching schism.

Page 142. " Then will the communion of saints " be practicable, to which the principles of all par- " ties, the occasional conformists only excepted, " stand in direct opposition, &c." So that all are wrong but they. The Scripture is fully against schism. Tindal promotes it, and places in it all the present and future happiness of man.

Page 144. All he has hitherto said on this matter, with a very little turn, were arguments for popery: for it is certain, that religion had share in very few wars for many hundred years before the Reformation, because they were all of a mind. It is the ambition of rebels, preaching upon the discon-

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tents of sectaries, that they are not supreme, which has caused wars for religion. He is mistaken altogether. His little narrow understanding and want of learning.

Page 145. " Though some say the high-fliers " lives might serve for a very good rule, if men would " act quite contrary to them." Is he one of those some? Beside the new turn of wit, &c. all the clergy in England come under his notion of high-fliers, as he states it.

Page 147. " None of them (churchmen) could " be brought to acknowledge it lawful upon any " account whatever, to exclude the duke of York." This account false in fact.

Ibid. " And the body politick, whether ecclesias- " tical or civil, must be dealt with after the same " manner as the body natural." What, because it is called a body, and is a simile, must it hold in all circumstances?

Page 148. " We find all wise legislators have " had regard to the tempers, inclinations, and preju- " dices, &c." This paragraph false.—It was directly contrary in several, as Lycurgus, &c.

Page 152. " All the skill of the prelatists is not " able to discover the least distinction between bishop " and presbyter." Yet, God knows, this hath been done many a time.

Page 158. " The epistle to the Philippians is " directed to the bishops and deacons; I mean " in due order after the people, viz. to the saints, " with their bishops and deacons." I hope he would argue from another place, that the people precede the king, because of these words; " Ye shall " be destroyed, both you and your king."

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Page 161. " The pope and other great church " dons." I suppose he means bishops: but I wish he would explain himself, and not be so very witty in the midst of an argument; it is like two mediums; not fair in disputing.

Page 167. " Clemens Romanus blames the " people, not for assuming a power, but for making " a wrong use of it, &c." His great errour all along is, that he does not distinguish between a power, and a liberty of exercising that power, &c. I would appeal to any man, whether the clergy have not too little power, since a book like his, that unsettles foundations, and would destroy all, goes unpunished, &c.

Page 171. " By this or some such method the " bishops obtained their power over their fellow " presbyters, and both over the people. The whole " tenour of the Gospel directly contrary to it." Then it is not an allowable means: This carries it so far as to spoil his own system; it is a sin to have bishops as we have them.

Page 172. " The preservation of peace and unity, " and not any divine right, was the reason of esta- " blishing a superiority of one of the presbyters over " the rest. Otherwise there would, as they say, " have been as many schismaticks as presbyters. No " great compliment to the clergy of those days." Why so? It is the natural effect of a worse independency, which he keeps such a clatter about; an independency of churches on each other, which must naturally create schism.

Page 183. " How could the Christians have as- " serted the disinterestedness of those who first " preached the Gospel, particularly their having a right " to the tenth part?" Yes, that would have passed easy enough; for they could not imagine teachers could

could live on air; and their heathen priests were much more unreasonable.

Page 184. "Mens suffering for such opinions is "not sufficient to support the weight of them." This is a glance against Christianity. State the case of convert infidels; the converters are supposed few; the bulk of the priests must be of the converted country. It is their own people therefore they maintain. What project or end can a few converters propose? they can leave no power to their families, &c. State this, I say, at length, and give it a true turn. Princes give corporations power to purchase lands.

Page 187. "That it became an easy prey to the "barbarous nations." Ignorance in Tindal. The empire long declined before Christianity was introduced. This a wrong cause, if ever there was one.

Page 190. "It is the clergy's interest to have "religion corrupted." Quite the contrary; prove it. How is it the interest of the English clergy to corrupt religion? The more justice and piety the people have, the better it is for them; for that would prevent the penury of farmers, and the oppression of exacting covetous landlords, &c. That which has corrupted religion, is the liberty unlimited of professing all opinions. Do not lawyers render law intricate by their speculations, &c. And physicians, &c.

Page 209. "The spirit and temper of the clergy, "&c." What does this man think the clergy are made of? Answer generally to what he says against councils in the ten pages before. Suppose I should bring quotations in their praise.

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Page 211. "As the clergy, though few in com-"parison of the laity, were the inventors of corrup-"tions." His scheme is, that the fewer and poorer the clergy the better, and the contrary among the laity. A noble principle; and delicate consequences from it!

Page 207. "Men are not always condemned for "the sake of opinions, but opinions sometimes for "the sake of men." And so, he hopes, that if his opinions are condemned, people will think it is a spite against him, as having been always scandalous.

Page 210. "The meanest layman as good a "judge as the greatest priest, for the meanest man "is as much interested in the truth of religion as "the greatest priest." As if one should say, the meanest sick man has as much interest in health as a physician, therefore is as good a judge of physick as a physician. &c.

Ibid. "Had synods been composed of laymen, "none of those corruptions which tend to advance "the interest of the clergy, &c." True. But the part the laity had in reforming, was little more than plundering. He should understand that the nature of things is this, that the clergy are made of men, and without some encouragement they will not have the best, but the worst.

Page 215, "They who gave estates to, rather "than they who took them from, the clergy, were "guilty of sacrilege." Then the people are the church, and the clergy not; another part of his scheme.

Page 219. "The clergy as they subsisted by the "alms of the people, &c." This he would have still. Show the folly of it. Not possible to show any

any civilized nation ever did it. Who would be clergymen then? The absurdity appears by putting the case, that none were to be statesmen, lawyers, or physicians, but who were to subsist by alms.

Page 222. "These subtle clergymen work their "designs, who lately cut out such a tacking job "for them, &c." He is mistaken—every body was for the bill almost, though not for the tack. The bishop of Sarum was for it, as appears by his speech against it. But it seems, the tacking is owing to metaphysical speculations. I wonder whether is most perplexed, this author in his style, or the writings of our divines. In the judgment of all people, our divines have carried practical preaching and writing to the greatest perfection it ever arrived to; which shows, that we may affirm in general, our clergy is excellent, although this or that man be faulty. As if an army be constantly victorious, regular, &c. we may say, it is an excellent victorious army: But, Tindal, to disparage it, would say, such a serjeant ran away; such an ensign hid himself in a ditch; nay, one colonel turned his back, therefore it is a corrupt, cowardly army, &c.

Page 224. "They were as apprehensive of the "works of Aristotle as some men are of the works "of a late philosopher, which, they are afraid, will "let too much light into the world." Yet just such another; only a commentator on Aristotle. People are likely to improve their understanding much with Locke: It is not his Human Understanding, but other works, that people dislike, although in that there are some dangerous tenets, as that of no innate ideas.

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Page 226. "Could they, like the popish priests, "add to this a reftraint on the press, their business "would be done." So it ought: For example, to hinder his book, because it is written to justify the vices and infidelity of the age. There can be no other design in it. For, is this a way or manner to do good? railing does but provoke. The opinion of the whole parliament is, the clergy are too poor.

Ibid. "When some nations could be no longer "kept from prying into learning, this miserable "gibberish of the schools was contrived." We have exploded schoolmen as much as he, and in some people's opinion too much, since the liberty of embracing any opinion is allowed; they following Aristotle, who is doubtless the greatest master of arguing in the world: But it has been a fashion of late years to explode Aristotle, and therefore this man has fallen into it like others, for that reason, without understanding him. Aristotle's poetry, rhetorick, and politicks, are admirable; and therefore, it is likely, so are his logicks.

Page 230. "In these freer countries, as the "clergy have less power, so religion is better un- "derstood, and more useful and excellent dis- "courses are made on that subject, &c." Not generally. Holland not very famous, Spain has been, and France is. But it requires more knowledge than his, to form general rules, which people strain (when ignorant) to false deductions to make them out.

Page 232. Chap. VII. That this hypothesis of an independent power in any set of clergymen, makes all reformation unlawful, except where those who

who have this power do consent. The title of this chapter, a Truism.

Page 234. "If God has not placed mankind in "respect to civil matters under an absolute power, "but has permitted them in every society to act as "they judge best for their own safety, &c." Bad parallels; bad politicks; want of due distinction between teaching and government. The people may know when they are governed well, but not be wiser than their instructors. Show the difference.

Ibid. "If God has allowed the civil society these "privileges, can we suppose he has less kindness for "his church, &c.?" Here they are distinguished then, here it makes for him. It is a sort of turn of expression, which is scarce with him, and he contradicts himself to follow it.

Page 235. "This cursed hypothesis had, per-"haps, never been thought on with relation to ci-"vils, had not the clergy (who have an inexhausti-"ble magazine of oppressive doctrines) contrived "first in ecclesiasticals, &c." The seventh paragraph furious and false. Were there no tyrants before the clergy, &c.?

Page 236. "Therefore in order to serve them, "though I expect little thanks, &c." And why so? Will they not, as you say, follow their interest? I thought you said so. He has three or four spritely turns of this kind, that look as if he thought he had done wonders, and had put all the clergy in a ferment. Whereas, I do assure him, there are but two things wonderful in his book: First, how any man in a Christian country could have the boldness and wickedness to write it: And how any government would neglect punishing the author of it,

if not as an enemy of religion, yet as a profligate trumpeter of sedition. These are hard words, got by reading his book.

Ibid. "The light of nature, as well as the Gos-" pel, obliges people to judge of themselves, &c. " to avoid false prophets, seducers, &c." The legislature can turn out a priest, and appoint another ready-made, but not make one; as you discharge a physician, and may take a farrier; but he is no physician, unless made as he ought to be.

Ibid. " Since no more power is required for the " one than the other." That is, I dislike my physician, and can turn him off, therefore I can make any man a physician, &c. *Cujus est destruere*, &c. Jest on it: Therefore, because he lays schemes for destroying the church, we must employ him to raise it again. See what danger lies in applying maxims at random. So, because it is the soldiers business to knock men on the head, it is theirs likewise to raise them to life, &c.

Page 237. " It can belong only to the people to " appoint their own ecclesiastical officers." This word " people" is so delicious in him, that I cannot tell what is included in the idea of the " people." Does he mean the rabble or the legislature, &c.? In this sense it may be true, that the legislature gives leave to the bishops to appoint, and they appoint themselves; I mean, the executive power appoints, &c. He shows his ignorance in government. As to high church, he carries it a prodigious way, and includes, in the idea of it, more than others will allow.

Page 239. " Though it be customary to admit " none to the ministry who are not approved by the " bishops

" bishops or priests, &c." One of his principles to expose.

Ibid. " If every one has not an inherent right " to choose his own guide, then a man must be " either of the religion of his guide, or, &c." That would make delicate work in a nation: What would become of all our churches? They must dwindle into conventicles. Show what would be the consequence of this scheme in several points. This great reformer, if his projects were reduced to practice, how many thousand sects, and consequently tumults, &c. Men must be governed in speculations, at least not suffered to vent them, because opinions tend to actions, which are most governed by opinions, &c. If those who write for the church writ no better, they would succeed but scurvily. But to see whether he be a good writer, let us see when he has published his second part.

Page 253. " An excellent author in his preface " to the account of Denmark." This man judges and writes much of a level. Molesworth's preface full of stale profligate topicks. That author wrote his book in spite to a nation, as this does to religion, and both perhaps on poor personal piques.

Ibid. " By which means, and not by any dif- " ference in speculative matters, they are more rich " and populous." As if ever any body thought that a difference in speculative opinions made men richer or poorer; for example, &c.

Page 258. " Play the Devil for God's sake." If this is meant for wit, I would be glad to observe it; but in such cases I first look whether there be common sense, &c.

Page 261. "Christendom has been the scene of "perpetual wars, massacres, &c. He does not consider that most religious wars have been caused by schisms, when the dissenting parties were ready to join with any ambitious discontented men. The national religion always desires peace, even in her notions, for its interests.

Page 270. "Some have taken the liberty to com- "pare a high church priest in politicks, to a monkey "in a glass-shop, where, as he can do no good, so "he never fails of doing mischief enough." That is his modesty, it is his own simile, and it rather fits a man that does so and so, meaning himself. Besides, the comparison is foolish: So it is with men, as with stags.

Page 276. "Their interest obliges them directly "to promote tyranny." The matter is, that Christianity is the fault which spoils the priests, for they were like other men before they were priests. Among the Romans, priests did not do so; for they had the greatest power during the republick. I wonder he did not prove they spoiled Nero.

Page 277. "No princes have been more insup- "portable, and done greater violence to the com- "monwealth, than those the clergy have honoured "for saints and martyrs." For example in our country, the princes most celebrated by our clergy are, &c. &c. &c. And the quarrels since the Conquest were nothing at all of the clergy, but purely of families, &c. wherein the clergy only joined like other men.

Page 279. "After the Reformation, I desire to "know whether the conduct of the clergy was any "ways altered for the better, &c." Monstrous misrepresen-

representation! Does this man's spirit of declaiming let him forget all truth of fact, as here, &c.? Show it. Or does he flatter himself, a time will come in future ages, that men will believe it on his word? In short, between declaiming, between misrepresenting, and falseness, and charging popish things, and independency huddled together, his whole book is employed.

Set forth at large the necessity of union in religion, and the disadvantage of the contrary, and answer the contrary in Holland, where they have no religion, and are the worst constituted government in the world to last. It is ignorance of causes and appearances which makes shallow people judge so much to their advantage. They are governed by the administration and almost legislature of Holland through advantage of property, nor are they fit to be set in balance with a noble kingdom, &c. like a man that gets a hundred pounds a year by hard labour, and one that has it in land.

Page 280. "It may be worth inquiring, whether "the difference between the several sects in England, "&c." A noble notion started, that union in the church must enslave the kingdom; reflect on it. This man has somewhere heard, that it is a point of wit to advance paradoxes, and the bolder the better. But the wit lies in maintaining them, which he neglects, and forms imaginary conclusions from them, as if they were true and uncontested.

He adds, "That in the best constituted church, "the greatest good which can be expected of the "ecclesiasticks, is, from their divisions." This is a maxim deduced from a gradation of false suppositions. If a man should turn the tables, and argue

that all the debauchery, atheism, licentiousness, &c. of the times, were owing to the poverty of the clergy, &c. what would he say? There have been more wars of religion since the ruin of the clergy, than before, in England. All the civil wars before were from other causes.

Page 283. "Prayers are made in the loyal uni-" versity of Oxford, to continue the throne free from " the contagion of schism. See Mather's Sermon on " the 29th of May, 1705." Thus he ridicules the university, while he is eating their bread. The whole university comes with the most loyal addresses, yet that goes for nothing. If one indiscreet man drops an indiscreet word, all must answer for it.

Page 286. "By allowing all, who hold no opi-" nions prejudicial to the state, and contribute " equally with their fellow-subjects to its support, " equal privileges in it." But who denies that of the dissenters? The Calvinist scheme, one would not think proper for monarchy. Therefore, they fall in with the Scotch, Geneva, and Holland; and when they had strength here, they pulled down the monarchy. But I will tell an opinion they hold prejudicial to the state in his opinion; and that is, that they are against toleration, of which if I do not show him ten times more instances from their greatest writers, than he can do of passive obedience among the clergy, I have done.

"Does not justice demand, that they who alike " contribute to the burden, should alike receive the " advantage?" Here is another of his maxims closely put without considering what exceptions may be made. The papists have contributed doubly (being

so

so taxed) therefore by this rule they ought to have double advantage. Protection in property, leave to trade and purchase, &c. are enough for a government to give. Employments in a state are a reward for those who entirely agree with it, &c. For example, a man who upon all occasions declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy, would not be a fit man to have employments; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in a capacity of reducing it to practice, &c.

Page 287. "There can be no alteration in the "established mode of church discipline, which is not "made in a legal way." Oh! but there are several methods to compass this legal way, by cunning, faction, industry. The common people, he knows, may be wrought upon by priests; these may influence the faction, and so compass a very pernicious law, and in a legal way ruin the state; as king Charles I began to be ruined in a legal way, by passing bills, &c.

Page 288. "As every thing is persecution which "puts a man in a worse condition than his neighbours." It is hard to think sometimes whether this man is hired to write for, or against dissenters, and the sects. This is their opinion, although they will not own it so roundly. Let this be brought to practice: Make a quaker lord chancellor, who thinks paying tithes unlawful. And bring other instances to show that several employments affect the church.

Ibid. "Great advantage which both church and "state have got by the kindness already shown to "dissenters." Let them then be thankful for that. We humour children for their good sometimes, but too much may hurt. Observe that this 64th paragraph just contradicts the former. For, if we have

advantage by kindness shown dissenters, then there is no necessity of banishment, or death.

Page 290. "Christ never designed the holy sacrament should be prostituted to serve a party. "And that people should be bribed by a place to "receive unworthily." Why, the business is, to be sure, that those who are employed, are of the national church; and the way to know it, is, by receiving the sacrament, which all men ought to do in their own church; and if not, are hardly fit for an office; and if they have those moral qualifications he mentions, joined to religion, no fear of receiving unworthily. And for this there might be a remedy: To take an oath that they are of the same principles, &c. for that is the end of receiving; and that it might be no bribe, the bill against occasional conformity would prevent entirely.

Ibid. "Preferring men not for their capacity, "but their zeal to the church." The misfortune is, that if we prefer dissenters to great posts, they will have an inclination to make themselves the national church, and so there will be perpetual struggling; which case may be dangerous to the state. For, men are naturally wishing to get over others to their own opinion: witness this writer, who has published as singular and absurd notions as possible, yet has a mighty zeal to bring us over to them, &c.

Page 292. Here are two pages of scurrilous faction, with a deal of reflexions on great persons. Under the notion of high churchmen, he runs down all uniformity and church government. Here is the whole lower house of convocation, which represents the body of the clergy, and both universities, treated

with rudeness, by an obscure, corrupt member, while he is eating their bread.

Page 294. "The reason why the middle sort of "people retain so much of their ancient virtue, &c. is "because no such pernicious notions are the ingredi- "ents of their education; which it is a sign are in- "finitely absurd, when so many of the gentry and "nobility can, notwithstanding their prepossession, "get clear of them." Now the very same argument lies against religion, morality, honour, and honesty; which are, it seems, but prejudices of education, and too many get clear of them. The middle sort of people have other things to mind than the factions of the age. He always assigns many causes, and sometimes with reason, since he makes imaginary effects. He quarrels at power being lodged in the clergy: When there is no reasonable protestant, clergy or laity, who will not readily own the inconveniences by too great power and wealth, in any one body of men, ecclesiasticks, or seculars: But, on that account to weed up the wheat with the tares; to banish all religion, because it is capable of being corrupted; to give unbounded licence to all sects, &c.—And if heresies had not been used with some violence in the primitive age, we should have had, instead of true religion, the most corrupt one in the world.

Page 316. "The Dutch, and the rest of our "presbyterian allies, &c." The Dutch will hardly thank him for this appellation. The French huguenots, and Geneva protestants themselves, and others, have lamented the want of episcopacy, and approved ours, &c. In this and the next paragraph, the author introduces the arguments he formerly used,

used, when he turned papist in king James's time; and loth to lose them, he gives them a new turn; and they are the strongest in his book, at least have most artifice.

Page 333. "Tis plain, all the power the bishops "have, is derived from the people, &c." In general the distinction lies here. The permissive power of exercising jurisdiction lies in the people, or legislature, or administrator of a kingdom; but not of making him a bishop: as a physician that commences abroad, may be suffered to practise in London or be hindered; but they have not the power of creating him a doctor, which is peculiar to a university. This is some allusion; but the thing is plain, as it seems to me, and wants no subterfuge, &c.

Page 338. "A journeyman bishop to ordain for "him." Does any man think, that writing at this rate does the author's cause any service? is it his wit or his spleen that he cannot govern?

Page 364. "Can any have a right to an office, "without having a right to do those things in which "the office consists?" I answer, the ordination is valid. But a man may prudentially forbid to do some things: as a clergyman may marry without licence or bans; the marriage is good; yet he is punishable for it.

Page 368. "A choice made by persons who "have no right to choose, is an errour of the first "concoction." That battered simile again! this is hard. I wish physicians had kept that a secret, it lies so ready for him to be witty with.

Page 370. "If prescription can make mere nul-"lities to become good and valid, the laity may be "capable of all manner of ecclesiastical power, &c."

There

There is a difference; for, here the same way is kept, although there might be breaches; but it is quite otherwise, if you alter the whole method from what it was at first. We see bishops: there always were bishops: it is the old way still. So a family is still held the same, although we are not sure of the purity of every one of the race.

Page 380. "It is said, that every nation is not a "complete body politick within itself as to ecclesias- "ticals. But the whole church, say they, composes "such a body, and Christ is the head of it. But "Christ's headship makes Christians no more one "body politick with respect to ecclesiasticals, than "the civils." Here we must show the reason and necessity of the church being a corporation all over the world: to avoid heresies, and preserve fundamentals, and hinder the corrupting of Scripture, &c. But there are no such necessities in government, to be the same every where, &c. It is something like the colleges in a university; they all are independent, yet joined, are one body. So a general council consisteth of many persons independent of one another, &c.

However there is such a thing as *jus gentium*, &c. And he that is doctor of physick, or law, is so in any university in Europe, like the Respublica Litteraria. Nor to me does there seem any thing contradicting, or improper in this notion of the catholick church; and for want of such a communion, religion is so much corrupted, and would be more, if there were not more communion in this than in civils. It is of no import to mankind how nations are governed; but the preserving the purity of religion is best held up by endeavouring to make it one body over the world. Something like as there is in trade. So to be able to communicate with all Christians we come among,

among, is at least to be wished and aimed at, as much as we can.

Page 384. " In a word, if the bishops are not " supreme, &c." Here he reassumeth his arguments for popery, that there cannot be a body politick of the church through the whole world, without a visible head to have recourse to. These were formerly writ to advance popery, and now to put an absurdity upon the hypothesis of a catholick church. As they say in Ireland, in king James's time they built mass-houses, which we make very good barns of.

Page 388. " Bishops are, under a premunire, " obliged to confirm and consecrate the person " named in the *congé d'élire*." This perhaps is complained of. He is permitted to do it. We allow the legislature may hinder, if they please; as they may turn out christianity, if they think fit.

Page 389. " It is the magistrate who empowers " them to do more for other bishops than they can " for themselves, since they cannot appoint their " own successors." Yes they could, if the magistrate would let them. Here is an endless splutter, and a parcel of perplexed distinctions upon no occasion. All that the clergy pretend to, is a right of qualifying men for the ministry, something like what a university doth with degrees. This power they claim from God, and that the civil power cannot do it as pleasing to God without them; but they may choose whether they will suffer it or not. A religion cannot be crammed down a nation's throat against their will; but when they receive a religion, it is supposed they receive it as their converters give it; and upon that foot, they cannot justly mingle their own methods, that contradict that religion, &c.

Page

Page 390. " With us the bishops act only mi-
" nisterially, and by virtue of the regal commission,
" by which the prince firmly enjoins and commands
" them to proceed in choosing, confirming, and
" consecrating, &c." Suppose we held it unlawful to do so: How can we help it? But does that make it rightful, if it be not so? Suppose the author lived in a heathen country, where a law would be made to call christianity idolatrous; would that be a topick for him to prove it so by, &c. And why do the clergy incur a premunire; to frighten them? Because the law understandeth, that, if they refuse, the chosen cannot be a bishop. But, if the clergy had an order to do it otherwise than they have prescribed, they ought and would incur a hundred rather.

Page 402. " I believe the catholick church, &c." Here he ridicules the Apostles Creed. Another part of his scheme. By what he says in these pages, it is certain, his design is either to run down christianity, or set up popery; the latter it is more charitable to think, and, from his past life, highly probable.

Page 405. " That which gave the papists so
" great advantage was, clergymen's talking so very
" inconsistent with themselves, &c." State the difference here between our separation from Rome, and the dissenters from us, and show the falseness of what he says. I wish he would tell us what he leaves for a clergyman to do, if he may not instruct the people in religion, and if they should not receive his instructions.

Page 411. " The restraint of the press a badge
" of popery." Why is that a badge of popery?

Why

why not restrain the press to those who would confound religion, as in civil matters? But this toucheth himself. He would starve perhaps, &c. Let him get some honester livelihood then. It is plain, all his arguments against constraint, &c. favour the papists as much as dissenters; for both have opinions that may affect the peace of the state.

Page 413. "Since this Discourse, &c." And must we have another volume on this one subject of independency? or, is it to fright us? I am not of Dr. Hickes's mind, *Qu'il venge.* I pity the readers, and the clergy that must answer it, be it ever so insipid. Reflect on this sarcastic conclusion, &c.

CONCERNING

THAT UNIVERSAL HATRED,

WHICH

PREVAILS AGAINST THE CLERGY.

MAY 24, MDCCXXXVI.

I HAVE been long considering and conjecturing, what could be the causes of that great disgust, of late, against the clergy of both kingdoms, beyond what was ever known, till that monster and tyrant, Henry VIII, who took away from them, against law, reason, and justice, at least two thirds of their legal possessions; and whose successors (except queen Mary) went on with their rapine, till the accession of king James I. That detestable tyrant Henry VIII, although he abolished the pope's power in England, as universal bishop, yet what he did in that article, however just it were in itself, was the mere effect of his irregular appetite, to divorce himself from a wife he was weary of, for a younger and more beautiful woman, whom he afterward beheaded. But, at the same time, he was an entire defender of all the popish doctrines, even those which were the most absurd. And, while he put the people

to

to death for denying him to be head of the church, he burned every offender against the doctrines of the Roman faith; and cut off the head of sir Thomas More, a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced, for not directly owning him to be head of the church. Among all the princes who ever reigned in the world, there was never so infernal a beast as Henry VIII, in every vice of the most odious kind, without any one appearance of virtue: but cruelty, lust, rapine, and atheism, were his peculiar talents. He rejected the power of the pope for no other reason, than to give his full swing to commit sacrilege, in which no tyrant, since christianity became national, did ever equal him by many degrees. The abbeys, endowed with lands by the mistaken notion of well disposed men, were indeed too numerous, and hurtful to the kingdom; and therefore the legislature might, after the Reformation, have justly applied them to some pious or publick uses.

In a very few centuries after Christianity became national in most parts of Europe, although the church of Rome had already introduced many corruptions in religion; yet the piety of early Christians, as well as the new converts, was so great, and particularly princes, as well as noblemen and other wealthy persons, that they built many religious houses, for those who were inclined to live in a recluse or solitary manner, endowing those monasteries with land. It is true, we read of monks some ages before, who dwelt in caves and cells, in desert places. But, when publick edifices were erected and endowed, they began gradually to degenerate into idleness, ignorance, avarice, ambition, and luxury,

luxury, after the usual fate of all human institutions. The popes, who had already aggrandized themselves, laid hold of the opportunity to subject all religious houses with their priors and abbots, to their peculiar authority; whereby these religious orders became of an interest directly different from the rest of mankind, and wholly at the pope's devotion. I need say no more on this article, so generally known and so frequently treated, or of the frequent endeavours of some other princes, as well as our own, to check the growth, and wealth, and power of the regulars.

In later times, this mistaken piety, of erecting and endowing abbeys, began to decrease. And therefore, when some new-invented sect of monks and friars began to start up, not being able to procure grants of land, they got leave from the pope to appropriate the tithes and glebes of certain parishes, as contiguous or near as they could find, obliging themselves to send out some of their body to take care of the people's souls; and if some of those parishes were at too great a distance from the abbey, the monks appointed to attend them, were paid, for the cure, either a small stipend of a determined sum, or sometimes a third part, or what are now called the vicarial tithes.

As to the church-lands, it hath been the opinion of many writers, that, in England, they amounted to a third part of the whole kingdom. And therefore, if that wicked prince abovementioned, when he had cast off the pope's power, had introduced some reformation in religion, he could not have been blamed for taking away the abbey-lands by authority of parliament. But, when he continued the most cruel persecution of all those who differed in the least ar-

ticle of the popish religion, which was then the national and established faith, his seizing on those lands, and applying them to prophane uses, was absolute sacrilege, in the strongest sense of the word; having been bequeathed by princes and pious men to sacred uses.

In the reign of this prince, the church and court of Rome had arrived to such a height of corruption, in doctrine and discipline, as gave great offence to many wise, learned, and pious men through most parts of Europe; and several countries agreed to make some reformation in religion. But, although a proper and just reformation were allowed to be necessary, even to preserve Christianity itself, yet the passions and vices of men had mingled themselves so far, as to pervert and confound all the good endeavours of those who intended well: And thus the reformation, in every country where it was attempted, was carried on in the most impious and scandalous manner that can possibly be conceived. To which unhappy proceedings we owe all the just reproaches that Roman Catholicks have cast upon us ever since. For when the northern kingdoms and states grew weary of the pope's tyranny, and when their preachers, beginning with the scandalous abuses of indulgences, and proceeding farther to examine several points of faith, had credit enough with their princes, who were in some fear lest such a change might affect the peace of their countries, because their bishops had great influence on the people by their wealth and power; these politick teachers had a ready answer to this purpose: "Sir, your majesty need not be in "any pain or apprehension: take away the lands, "and sink the authority of the bishops: bestow

"those

" those lands on your courtiers, on your nobles, and " your great officers in your army; and then you " will be secure of the people." This advice was exactly followed. And, in the protestant monarchies abroad, little more than the shadow of episcopacy is left: but, in the republicks, is wholly extinct.

In England, the reformation was brought in after a somewhat different manner, but upon the same principle of robbing the church. However, Henry VIII, with great dexterity, discovered an invention to gratify his insatiable thirst for blood, on both religions, *

A LETTER,

Giving an Account of a Pestilent Neighbour.

SIR,

YOU must give me leave to complain of a *pestilent* fellow in my neighbourhood, who is always beating *mortar*, yet I cannot find he ever builds. In talking he useth such hard words, that I want a druggerman to interpret them. But all is not gold that *glisters*. *A pot he carries* to most houses where he visits. He makes his prentice his *galley*-slave. I wish our lane were *purged* of him. Yet he pretends to be a *cordial* man. Every *spring* his shop is crowded with country-folks; who, by their *leaves*, in my opinion, help him to do a great deal of mischief.

chief. He is full of *scruples*; and so very litigious, that he *files bills* against all his acquaintance: and though he be much troubled with the *simples*, yet I assure you he is a *jesuitical dog*; as you may know by his *bark*. Of all poetry he loves the *dram-a-tick* best. I am, &c.

A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke,

MY LORD, 1709, at a conjecture.

IT is now a good while since I resolved to take some occasions of congratulating with your lordship, and condoling with the publick, upon your lordship's leaving the admiralty; and I thought I could never choose a better time, than when I am in the country with my lord bishop of Clogher, and his brother the doctor; for we pretend to a *triumvirate* of as humble servants and true admirers of your lordship, as any you have in both islands. You may call them a *triumvirate*; for, if you please to *try-um*, they will *vie* with the best, and are of the first *rate*, though they are not *men of war*, but men of the church. To say the truth, it was a pity your lordship should be confined to the *Fleet*, when you are not in debt. Though your lordship is *cast away*, you are not *sunk*; nor ever will be, since nothing is out of your lordship's *depth*. Dr. Ashe says, it is but justice that your lordship, who is a man of *letters*, should be placed upon the *post-office*; and my lord bishop adds, that he hopes to see your lordship tossed from

from that *post* to be a *pillar* of state again; which he desired I would put in by way of *postscript*. I am, my lord, &c.

A LETTER TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE *;

Pretended to be the Dying Speech of Tom Ashe, whose brother the Reverend Dillon Ashe, was nicknamed Dilly †.

[Given to Dr. Monsey by Sir Andrew Fountaine; and communicated to the Editor of these Volumes by that ingenious, learned, and very obliging gentleman.]

TOM ASHE died last night. It is conceived he was so puffed up by my lord lieutenant's *favour*, that it struck him into a *fever*. I here send you his dying speech, as it was exactly taken by a friend in shorthand. It is something long, and a little incoherent; but he was several hours delivering it, and

* See Journal to Stella, June 30, 1711.

† Thomas Ashe, Esq. descended from an ancient family of that name in Wiltshire, was a gentleman of fortune in Ireland. He was a facetious pleasant companion, but the most eternal unwearied punster that ever lived. He was thick and short in his person, being not above five feet high at the most, and had something very droll in his appearance. He died about the year 1719, and left his whole estate, of about a thousand pounds a year, to his intimate friend and kinsman Richard Ashe, of Ashefield, Esq. There is a whimsical story, and a very true one, of Tom Ashe, which is well remembered to this day. It happened, that, while he was travelling on horseback, and at a considerable distance from any town,

and with several intervals. His friends were about the bed, and he spoke to them thus:

" My Friends,

It is time for a man to look *grave*, when he has one foot there. I once had only a *pun*nic fear of death; but of late I have *pun*dred it more seriously. Every fit of *coffing* hath put me in mind of my *coffin*; though *dissolute* men seldomest think of *dissolution*. This is a very great alteration: I, that supported myself with good *wine*, must now be myself supported by a *small bier*. A fortune-teller once looked on my hand, and said, this man is to be a great traveller; he will soon be at the *diet* of *Worms*, and from thence go to *Ratisbone*. But now I understand his double meaning. I desire to be privately *buried*, for I think a publick funeral looks like *Bury* fair; and the *rites* of the dead too often prove *wrong* to the living. Methinks the word itself best expresses the number, neither *few nor all*. A dying man should not think of *obsequies*, but *ob se quies*. Little did I

there burst from the clouds such a torrent of rain as wetted him through. He galloped forward; and, as soon as he came to an inn, he was met instantly by a drawer: " Here," said he to the fellow, stretching out one of his arms, " take off my coat immediately." " No, Sir, I won't," said the drawer. " Pox, confound you," said Ashe, " take off my coat this instant." " No, Sir," replied the drawer, " I dare not take off your coat; for it is felony to strip an " Ash." Tom was delighted beyond measure, frequently told the story, and said he would have given fifty guineas to have been the author of that pun. This little tract of Dr. Swift's, entitled, " The Dying Words of Tom Ashe," was written several years before the decease of Tom, and was merely designed to exhibit the manner in which such an eternal punster might have expressed himself on his deathbed.

think

think you would so soon see poor *Tom stown* under a *tomb-stone*. But as the *mole* crumbles the *mold* about her, so a man of small *mold*, before I am *old*, may *molder* away. Sometimes I've *rav'd* that I should *re*vive; but physicians tell me, that when once the great *artery* has drawn the *heart awry*, we shall find the *cor di all*, in spite of all the highest *cordial*.—Brother, you are fond of *Daffy's* elixir; but, when death comes, the world will see that, in spite of *Daffy*, *down Dilly**. Whatever doctors *may design* by their *medicines*, a man in a *dropsy drops he* not, in spite of Goddard's *drops*, though none are reckoned such *high drops?*—I find death smells the blood of an Englishman: a *fee* faintly *fum*bled out will be a weak defence against his *fee-fa-fum*. *P. T.* are no letters in death's *alphabet*; he has not *half a bit* of either: he moves his *sithe*, but will not be moved by all our *sighs*. Every thing ought to put us in mind of death: Physicians affirm, that our very food breeds it in us; so that, in our *dieting*, we may be said to *di eating*. There is something ominous, not only in the names of diseases, as *di*-arrhœa, *di*-abetes, *di*-sentry; but even in the drugs designed to preserve our lives; as *di*-acodium, *di*-apente, *di*-ascordium. I perceive Dr. *Howard* (and I feel *how hard*) *lay thumb* on my *pulse*, then *pulls* it back, as if he saw *lethum* in my face. I see as bad in his; for sure there is no *physick* like a *sick phiz*. He thinks I shall decease before the *day cease*; but before I die, before the bell hath *toll'd*, and *Tom Tollman* is *told* that little *Tom*, though not *old*, has paid nature's *toll*, I do desire to give some advice to those that survive me. First,

* A nickname of Tom Ashe's brother.

Let gamesters consider that death is *hazard* and *passage*, upon the turn of a *die*. Let lawyers consider it is a hard *case*. And let punners consider how hard it is to *die jesting*, when death is so hard in *digesting*.

As for my lord lieutenant the earl of *Mungomerry*, I am sure he *be-wales* my misfortune; and it would move him to stand by, when the carpenter (while my friends grieve and make an *odd splutter*) *nails* up my coffin. I will make a short *affidavi-t*, that, if he makes my *epitaph*, *I* will take it for a great honour; and it is a plentiful subject. His excellency may say, that the art of punning is dead with *Tom*. *Tom* has taken all puns away with him, *Omne tulit pun-Tom*.—May his excellency long *live tenant* to the queen in Ireland! We never *Herberd* so good a governor before. Sure he *mun-go-merry* home, that has made a kingdom so happy. I hear my friends design to publish a collection of my puns. Now I do confess, I have let many a *pun go*, which did never *pungo*: therefore the world must read the bad as well as the good. Virgil has long foretold it: *Punica mala leges*. I have had several forebodings that I should soon die; I have of late been often at committees, where I have sat de *die* in *diem*. I conversed much with the *usher* of the *black rod*: I saw his *medals*; and woe is *me dull* soul, not to consider they are but dead mens faces *stamped over* and *over* by the living, which will shortly be my condition.

Tell Sir *Andrew Fountaine*, I *ran* clear to the *bottom*, and wish he may be a late *a river* where I am going. He used to *brook* compliments. May his sand be long a *running*; not *quick sand*, like mine! Bid him avoid *poring* upon monuments and books; which is

in

in reality but *running* among *rocks* and *shelves*, to *stop* his *course*. May his *waters* never be *troubled* with *mud* or *gravel*, nor *stopped* by any *grinding stone!* May his friends be all true *trouts*, and his enemies laid as flat as *flounders!* I look upon him as the most *fluent* of his *race*; therefore let him not des*pond*. I foresee his black *rod* will advance to a *pike*, and destroy all our *ills*.

But I am going; my *wind in* lungs is turning to a *winding* sheet. The thoughts of *a pall* begin to *apall* me. Life is but a *vapour*, car elle *va pour* la moindre cause. Farewell: I have lived ad amicorum *fastidium*, and now behold how *fast I di um!*"

Here his breath failed him, and he expired. There are some false spellings here and there; but they must be pardoned in a dying man.

A Letter to the King at Arms,

[From a reputed Esquire,
One of the Subscribers to the Bank.]

SIR, November 18, 1721.

IN a late printed paper, containing some notes and queries upon that list of the subscribers names which was published by order of the commissioners for receiving subscriptions, I find some hints and innuendoes that would seem to insinuate, as if I and some others

others were only reputed esquires; and our case is referred to you, in your kingly capacity. I desire you will please to let me know the lowest price of a real esquire's coat of arms: and if we can agree, I will give my bond to pay you out of the first interest I receive for my subscription; because things are a little low with me at present, by throwing my whole fortune into the bank, having subscribed for five hundred pounds sterling.

I hope you will not question my pretensions to this title, when I let you know that my godfather was a justice of peace, and I myself have been often a keeper of it. My father was a leader and commander of horse, in which post he rode before the greatest lords of the land; and, in long marches, he alone presided over the baggage, advancing directly before it. My mother kept open house in Dublin, where several hundreds were supported with meat and drink, bought at her own charge, or with her personal credit, until some envious brewers and butchers forced her to retire.

As to myself, I have been for several years a foot-officer; and it was my charge to guard the carriages, behind which I was commanded to stick close, that they might not be attacked in the rear. I have had the honour to be a favourite of several fine ladies; who each of them, at different times, gave me such coloured knots and publick marks of distinction, that every one knew which of them it was to whom I paid my address. They would not go into their coach without me, nor willingly drink unless I gave them the glass with my own hand. They allowed me to call them my mistresses, and owned that title publickly. I have been told, that the true ancient employment

employment of a squire was to carry a knight's shield, painted with his colours and coat of arms. This is what I have witnesses to produce that I have often done; not indeed in a shield, like my predecessors, but that which is full as good, I have carried the colours of a knight upon my coat. I have likewise born the king's arms in my hand, as a mark of authority; and hung them painted before my dwellinghouse, as a mark of my calling: so that I may truly say, his majesty's arms have been my supporters. I have been a strict and constant follower of men of quality. I have diligently pursued the steps of several squires, and am able to behave myself as well as the best of them, whenever there shall be occasion.

I desire it may be no disadvantage to me, that, by the new act of parliament going to pass for preserving the game, I am not yet qualified to keep a greyhound. If this should be the test of squirehood, it will go hard with a great number of my fraternity, as well as myself, who must all be unsquired, because a greyhound will not be allowed to keep us company; and it is well known I have been a companion to his betters. What has a greyhound to do with a squireship? might not I be a real squire, although there was no such thing as a greyhound in the world? Pray tell me, sir, are greyhounds to be from henceforth the supporters of every squire's coat of arms? although I cannot keep a greyhound, may not a greyhound help to keep me? may not I have an order from the governors of the bank to keep a greyhound, with a *non obstante* to the act of parliament, as well as they have created a bank against the votes of the two houses? but, however, this difficulty,

ficulty will soon be overcome. I am promised 125*l.* a year for subscribing 500*l.*; and, of this 500*l.* I am to pay in only 25*l.* ready money: the governors will trust me for the rest, and pay themselves out of the interest by 25*l. per cent.* So that I intend to receive only 40*l.* a year, to qualify me for keeping my family and a greyhound, and let the remaining 85*l.* go on till it makes 500*l.* then 1000*l.* then 10,000*l.* then 100,000*l.* then a million, and so forward. This, I think, is much better (betwixt you and me) than keeping fairs, and buying and selling bullocks; by which I find, from experience, that little is to be gotten in these hard times. I am, Sir,

Your friend, and servant to command,

A. B. ESQUIRE.

Postscript. I hope you will favourably represent my case to the publisher of the paper above-mentioned.

Direct your letter for A. B. Esquire, at ——, in ——; and pray get some parliament-man to frank it, for it will cost a groat postage to this place.

A LETTER TO MRS. SUSANNAH NEVILLE*.

MADAM, June 24, 1732.

I WILL not trouble you with any grave *tophicks*, lest I should *discurmode* you; but rather write in a *familiar* and *jocosious* way.

* This letter is fictitious, and was written by Dr. Sheridan.

You

You must know then, I was the other night at Mrs. Tattle's, and Mrs. Rattle came in to drink some *jocklit* with us, upon which they fell into a *nargiment* about the best *musicioners* in town. At last, Rattle told Tattle, that she did not know the *difrence* between a song and a *tympany*. They were going to *defer* the matter to me; but I said that, when people disputed, it was my way always to stand *muter*. You would have thought they were both *intosticated* with liquor, if you had seen them so full of outrageousness. However, Mrs. Tattle, as being a very *timbersome* woman, yielded to Rattle, and there was an end of the *disputement*. I wonder you do not honour me sometimes with your company. If I myself be no *introducement*, my garden, which has a fine *ruval* look, ought to be one. My Tommy would be glad to see you before he goes for England, and so would I; for I am resolved to take the *tower* of London before I return. We intend to go to Norfolk or Suffolk, to see a clergyman, a near cousin of ours. They say that he is an *admiral* good man, and very *horspital* in his own house. I am *determ'd*, when this *vege* is over, never to set my foot in a stagecoach again; for the jolting of it has put my blood into such a *firmament*, that I have been in an *ego* ever since, and have lost my *nappetite* to such a degree that I have not eaten a *mansion* of bread put all together these six weeks past. They allow me to eat nothing at night but *blanchius manshius*, which has made a perfect *notomy* of me; and my spirits are so *extorted*, that I am in a perfect *liturgy*; for which I am resolved to take some *rubrick*, although the doctors advise me to drink *burgomy*. And what do you think? when I went to my cellar for a flask, I found

found that my servants had *imbellished* it all: for which I am resolved to give them some *hippocockeny* to bring it up again.—I fear that I have been too *turbulent* in this long and tedious *crawl*; which I hope you will excuse from, your very humble servant.

MARY HOWE.

ON BARBAROUS DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND.

SIR,

I HAVE been lately looking over the advertisements in some of your Dublin news-papers, which are sent me to the country; and was much entertained with a large list of denominations of lands, to be sold or let. I am confident they must be genuine; for it is impossible that either chance, or modern invention, could sort the alphabet in such a manner, as to make those abominable sounds; whether first invented to invoke or fright away the Devil, I must leave among the curious.

If I could wonder at any thing barbarous, ridiculous, or absurd among us, this should be one of the first. I have often lamented that Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, was not prevailed on by that petty king from Ireland, who followed his camp, to come over and civilize us with a conquest, as his countrymen did Britain, where several Roman appellations remain to this day; and so would the rest have done, if that inundation of Angles, Saxons, and other northern people had not changed them so much for the worse, although in no comparison

with ours. In one of the advertisements just mentioned, I encountered near a hundred words together, which I defy any creature in human shape, except an Irishman of the savage kind, to pronounce; neither would I undertake such a task, to be owner of the lands, unless I had liberty to humanize the syllables twenty miles round. The legislature may think what they please, and that they are above copying the Romans in all their conquests of barbarous nations; but I am deceived, if any thing has more contributed to prevent the Irish from being tamed, than this encouragement of their language, which might be easily abolished and become a dead one in half an age, with little expense, and less trouble.

How is it possible that a gentleman, who lives in those parts where the *town-lands* (as they call them) of his estate produce such odious sounds from the mouth, the throat, and the nose, can be able to repeat the words without dislocating every muscle that is used in speaking, and without applying the same tone to all other words, in every language he understands: as it is plainly to be observed, not only in those people, of the better sort, who live in Gallway and the Western parts, but in most counties of Ireland?

It is true, that in the city part of London, the trading people have an affected manner of pronouncing; and so, in my time, had many ladies and coxcombs at court. It is likewise true, that there is an odd provincial cant in most counties in England, sometimes not very pleasing to the ear: and the Scotch cadence, as well as expression, are offensive enough. But none of these defects derive contempt

to

to the speaker: whereas, what we call the *Irish brogue* is no sooner discovered, than it makes the deliverer, in the last degree, ridiculous and despised; and, from such a mouth, an Englishman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies. Neither does it avail whether the censure be reasonable or not, since the fact is always so. And, what is yet worse, it is too well known, that the bad consequence of this opinion affects those among us who are not the least liable to such reproaches, farther than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of English parents, and whose education has been chiefly in that kingdom.

I have heard many gentlemen among us talk much of the great convenience to those who live in the country, that they should speak Irish. It may possibly be so: but, I think, they should be such who never intend to visit England, upon pain of being ridiculous; for I do not remember to have heard of any one man that spoke Irish, who had not the accent upon his tongue easily discernible to any English ear.

But I have wandered a little from my subject, which was only to propose a wish, that these execrable denominations were a little better suited to an English mouth, if it were only for the sake of the English lawyers; who, in trials upon appeals to the House of Lords, find so much difficulty in repeating the names, that if the plaintiff or defendant were by, they would never be able to discover which were their own lands. But, beside this, I would desire, not only that the appellations of what they call *townlands* were changed, but likewise of larger districts, and several towns, and some counties; and particularly the seats

seats of country gentlemen, leaving an *alias* to solve all difficulties in point of law. But I would by no means trust these alterations to the owners themselves; who, as they are generally no great clerks, so they seem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well skilled in prosody. The utmost extent of their genius lies in naming their country habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, a burrow, a castle, a bawn, a ford, and the like ingenious conceits. Yet these are exceeded by others, whereof some have continued anagrammatical appellations, from half their own and their wives names joined together: others only from the lady; as, for instance, a person, whose wife's name was Elizabeth, calls his seat by the name of *Bess-borow*. There is likewise a famous town, where the worst iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called *Swandlingbar*. The original of which name I shall explain, lest the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loss to derive it. It was a most witty conceit of four gentlemen, who ruined themselves with this iron project. *Sw.* stands for *Swift*, *And.* for *Sanders*. *Ling.* for *Darling*, and *Bar.* for *Barry*. Methinks I see the four loggerheads, sitting in consult, like *Smectymnuus*, each gravely contributing a part of his own name, to make up one for their place in the iron work; and could wish they had been hanged, as well as undone, for their wit. But I was most pleased with the denomination of a town-land, which I lately saw in an advertisement of Pue's paper: "This is to give notice, that the lands "of *Douras*, *alias* WHIG-*borough*, &c." Now this zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion or loyalty to future ages, within five miles round him, for want of other merit, thought fit

to make use of this expedient; wherein he seems to mistake his account: for this distinguishing term whig had a most infamous original, denoting a man who favoured the fanatick sect, and an enemy to kings, and so continued till the idea was a little softened, some years after the Revolution, and during a part of her late majesty's reign. After which it was in disgrace until the queen's death, since which time it has indeed flourished with a witness: but how long it will continue so, in our variable scene, or what kind of mortal it may describe, is a question which this courtly landlord is not able to answer. And therefore he should have set a date on the title of his borough, to let us know what kind of creature a whig was in that year of our Lord. I would readily assist nomenclators of this costive imagination; and therefore I propose, to others of the same size in thinking, that, when they are at a loss about christening a country seat, instead of straining their invention, they would call it *Booby-borough*, *Fool-brook*, *Puppy-ford*, *Coxcomb-hall*, *Mount-loggerhead*, *Dunce-hill*; which are innocent appellations, proper to express the talents of the owners. But I cannot reconcile myself to the prudence of this lord of WHIG-*borough*, because I have not yet heard, among the presbyterian squires, how much soever their persons and principles are in vogue, that any of them have distinguished their country abode by the name of *Mount-regicide*, *Covenant-hall*, *Fanatick-hill*, *Roundhead-bawn*, *Canting-brook*, or *Mount-rebel*, and the like: because there may probably come a time when those kind of sounds may not be so grateful to the ears of the kingdom. For I do not conceive it would be a mark of discretion, upon supposing a gentleman, in

in allusion to his name, or the merit of his ancestors, to call his house *Tyburn-hall.*

But the scheme I would propose, for changing the denominations of land into legible and audible syllables, is by employing some gentlemen in the university; who, by the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and their judgment in sounds, might imitate the Roman way, by translating those hideous words into their English meanings, and altering the termination where a bare translation will not form a good cadence to the ear, or be easily delivered from the mouth. And when both these means happen to fail, then to name the parcels of land from the nature of the soil, or some peculiar circumstance belonging to it; as, in England, *Farn-ham*, *Oat-lands*, *Black-heath*, *Corn-bury*, *Rye-gate*, *Ash-burnham*, *Barn-elms*, *Cole-orton*, *Sand-wich*, and many others.

I am likewise apt to quarrel with some titles of lords among us, that have a very ungracious sound, which are apt to communicate mean ideas to those who have not the honour to be acquainted with their persons or their virtues, of whom I have the misfortune to be one. But I cannot pardon those gentlemen, who have gotten titles since the judicature of the peers among us has been taken away, to which they all submitted with a resignation that became good Christians, as undoubtedly they are. However, since that time, I look upon a graceful harmonious title to be at least forty *per cent* in the value intrinsic of an Irish peerage: and, since it is as cheap as the worst, for any Irish law hitherto enacted in England to the contrary, I would advise the next set, before they pass their patents, to call a consultation of scholars and musical gentlemen, to adjust this most

important and essential circumstance. The Scotch noblemen, though born almost under the north pole, have much more tunable appellations, except some very few, which, I suppose, were given them by the Irish, along with their language, at the time when that kingdom was conquered and planted from hence; and, to this day, retain the denominations of places, and surnames of families, as all historians agree.

I should likewise not be sorry, if the names of some bishops sees were so much obliged to the alphabet, that upon pronouncing them, we might contract some veneration for the order and persons of those reverend peers, which the gross ideas sometimes joined to their titles are very unjustly apt to diminish.

Upon giving Badges to the Poor.

Deanry-House, Sept. 26, 1726.

THE continual concourse of beggars, from all parts of the kingdom to this city, having made it impossible for the several parishes to maintain their own poor, according to the ancient laws of the land; several lord mayors did apply themselves to the lord archbishop of Dublin, that his grace would direct his clergy, and the churchwardens of the said city, to appoint badges of brass, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the several parishes. The badges to be marked with initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. and to be well sewed

sewed and fastened on the right and left shoulder of the outward garment of each of the said poor, by which they might be distinguished. And that none of the said poor should go out of their own parish to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

His grace the lord archbishop did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverseness, or pride, of the said poor; several of them openly protesting, "they will never submit to wear the said "badges." And of those who received them, almost every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them in a string about their necks, or fasten them under their coats, not to be seen; by which means the whole design is eluded; so that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without seeing one beggar regularly badged, and in such great numbers, that they are a mighty nuisance to the publick, most of them being foreigners.

It is therefore proposed, that his grace the lord archbishop would please to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put the affair of badges effectually in practice, by such methods as his grace and they shall agree upon. And, I think, it would be highly necessary, that some paper should be pasted up, in several proper parts of the city, signifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to those poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are within the precincts of their own parishes. And if something like this were delivered by the ministers, in the reading-desk, two or three Lord's days successively, it would still be of farther use to put this mat-

ter upon a right foot. And that all who offend against this regulation be treated as vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amused, for at least thirty years past, with numberless schemes, in writing and discourse, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor, and setting them to work, especially in this city; most of which were idle, indigested, or visionary; and all of them ineffectual, as it has plainly appeared by the consequences. Many of those projectors were so stupid, that they drew a parallel from Holland and England, to be settled in Ireland; that is to say, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the most beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of false and foolish reasoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, seems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much conversed with those folks who call themselves merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong thinking race of people in the very first rudiments of trade; which, however, was not so much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy constitution of this kingdom; where pedlars are better qualified to thrive, than the wisest merchants. I could

could fill a volume with only setting down a list of the publick absurdities, by which this kingdom has suffered within the compass of my own memory, such as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not established as a law. I cannot forbear instancing a few of these, because it may be of some use to those who shall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The first was, the building of the barracks, whereof I have seen above one half, and have heard enough of the rest, to affirm that the publick has been cheated of at least two thirds of the money, raised for that use, by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raised for the Palatines; when, instead of employing that great sum in purchasing lands in some remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting those people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is, the insurance office against fire, by which several thousand pounds are yearly remitted to England (a trifle, it seems, we can easily spare) and will gradually increase until it comes to a good national tax: for the society marks upon our houses (under which might properly be written, "The "Lord have mercy upon us") spread faster and farther than the colony of frogs *. I have for above twenty

* This similitude, which is certainly the finest that could possibly have been used upon this occasion, seems to require a short explication. About the beginning of this current century, Dr. Gwythers, a physician, and fellow of the university of Dublin, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from England to Ireland, in order to propagate the ſpecies in that kingdom, and threw them

twenty years past, given warning several thousand times, to many substantial people, and to such who are acquainted with lords and squires, and the like great folks, to any of whom I have not the honour to be known: I mentioned my daily fears, lest our watchful friends in England might take this business out of our hands; and how easy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a society of persons who had good estates, such, for instance, as that noble knot of bankers under the style of "Swift and Com-"pany." But now we are become tributary to England, not only for materials to light our own fires, but for engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added (repealed in England as a grievance) we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of those merchants, or linen manufacturers, or both; when, upon occasion of the plague at Marseilles, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade with Spain; but the commodity was so bad, and held at so high a rate, that almost the whole cargo was returned, and the small remainder sold below the prime cost.

So many other particulars of the same nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to stop;

into the ditches of the University park: but they all perished. Whereupon he sent to England for some bottles of the frog-spawn, which he threw into those ditches, by which means the species of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was so small in the year 1720, that a frog was no where to be seen in Ireland, except in the neighbourhood of the University park: but, within six or seven years after they spread thirty, forty, or fifty miles over the country; and so at last, by degrees, over the whole nation.

and

and the rather because they are not very proper for my subject, to which I shall now return.

Among all the schemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and setting them to work, the least weight has been laid upon that single point which is of greatest importance; I mean, that of keeping foreign beggars from swarming hither, out of every part of the country; for, until this be brought to pass effectually, all our wise reasonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to so small a number of people, is owing to many reasons: to the laziness of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miserable cabins and potatoe-plots; their early marriages, without the least prospect of establishment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby such vast numbers are hindered from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchase it; the mortal damp upon all kind of trade, and many other circumstances too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the same causes we owe, the perpetual concourse of foreign beggars to this town; the country landlords giving all asistance, except money and victuals, to drive from their estates, those miserable creatures they have undone.

It was a general complaint against the poor-house, under its former governors, "That the number of "poor in this city did not leſſen by taking three "hundred into the house, and all of them recom-"mended under the minister and churchwardens "hands of the several parishes:" and this complaint must still continue, although the poor-house should be

be enlarged to maintain three thousand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-house, as it is now established, amount to about two thousand pounds a year; whereof, two hundred allowed for officers and one hundred for repairs, the remaining seventeen hundred, at four pounds a head, will support four hundred and twenty-five persons. This is a favourable allowance, considering that I subtract nothing for the diet of those officers, and for wear and tear of furniture; and if every one of these collegiates should be set to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one fourth part of their maintenance.

At the same time, the oratorial part of these gentlemen, seldom vouchsafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred or two thousand people, to be maintained in this hospital, without troubling their heads about the fund * * * * * * * * *

TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM Lord Archbishop of DUBLIN, &c.

The humble Representation of the CLERGY of the City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD, Jan. 1724.

YOUR grace having been pleased to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters patent, for the relief of one Charles M'Carthy, whose house in College-green, Dublin, was burnt by an accidental fire; and

and having desired us to consider of the said brief, and give our opinions thereof to your grace:

We the clergy of the city of Dublin, in compliance with your grace's desire, and with great acknowledgments for your paternal tenderness toward us, having maturely considered the said brief by letters patent, compared the several parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubrick (which is confirmed by act of parliament) and consulted persons skilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourselves and of the rest of our brethren the clergy of the diocese of Dublin, most humbly represent to your grace:

First, That by this brief, your grace is required and commanded, to recommend and command all the parsons, vicars, &c. to advance so great an act of charity.

We shall not presume to determine how far your grace may be commanded by the said brief, but we humbly conceive that the clergy of your diocese cannot, by any law now in being, be commanded by your grace to advance the said act of charity, any otherwise than by reading the said brief in our several churches, as prescribed by the rubrick.

Secondly, Whereas it is said in the said brief, "That the parsons, vicars, &c. upon the first Lord's "day, or opportunity, after the receipt of the copy "of the said brief, shall, deliberately and affectionately, publish and declare the tenour thereof to his "majesty's subjects, and earnestly persuade, exhort, "and stir them up, to contribute freely and cheerfully toward the relief of the said sufferer:"

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day

day except the Lord's day, or some solemn days legally appointed; neither is it possible for the strongest constitution among us to obey this command (which includes no less than a whole sermon) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every house where the parishes are very populous, consisting sometimes here in town of nine hundred or one thousand houses, would take up the space of a year, although we should preach in two families every day; and almost as much time in the country, where the parishes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that these exhortations are commanded to be made in the church upon the Lord's day; we are humbly of opinion, that it is left to the discretion of the clergy, to choose what subjects they think most proper to preach on, and at what times; and if they preach either false doctrines or seditious principles, they are liable to be punished.

It may possibly happen that the sufferer recommended may be a person not deserving the favour intended by the brief; in which case no minister who knows the sufferer to be an undeserving person, can, with a safe conscience, deliberately and affectionately publish the brief, much less earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir up the people to contribute freely and cheerfully toward the relief of such a sufferer *.

* This M'Carthy's house was burnt in the month of August 1723: and the universal opinion of mankind was, that M'Carthy himself was the person who set fire to the house.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Whereas, in the said brief, the ministers and curates are required, "on the weekdays "next after the Lord's day when the brief was read, "to go from house to house, with their churchwar- "dens, to ask and receive from all persons the said "charity:" We cannot but observe here, that the said ministers are directly made collectors of the said charity in conjunction with the churchwardens, which however, we presume, was not intended, as being against all law and precedent: and therefore, we apprehend, there may be some inconsistency, which leaves us at a loss how to proceed: for, in the next paragraph, the ministers and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the churchwardens, or procure some other of the chief inhabitants to do the same. And in a following paragraph, the whole work seems left entirely to the churchwardens, who are required to use their utmost diligence to gather and collect the said charity, and to pay the same, in ten days after, to the parson, vicar, &c.

In answer to this, we do represent to your grace our humble opinion, that neither we, nor our churchwardens, can be legally commanded or required to go from house to house, to receive the said charity; because your grace has informed us in your order, at your visitation, A. D. 1712, "That neither we nor our "churchwardens are bound to make any collections "for the poor, save in the church;" which also appears plainly by the rubrick, that appoints both time and place, as your grace has observed in your said order.

We do likewise assure your grace, that it is not in our power to procure some of the chief inhabi-

tants

tants of our parishes to accompany the churchwardens from house to house in these collections: and we have reason to believe that such a proposal made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers of the land) would be received in a manner very little to our own satisfaction, or to the advantage of the said collections.

Fourthly, The brief does will, require, and command the bishops, and all other dignitaries of the church, "that they make their contributions dis-"tinctly, to be returned in the several provinces to "the several archbishops of the same."

Upon which we take leave to observe, that the terms of expression here are of the strongest kind, and in a point that may subject the said dignitaries (for we shall say nothing of the bishops) to great inconveniencies.

The said dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions distinctly: by which it should seem that they are absolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *distinctly* is but a circumstance) and may be understood not very agreeable to a voluntary, cheerful contribution. And therefore, if any bishop or dignitary should refuse to make his contribution (perhaps for very good reasons) he may be thought to incur the crime of disobedience to his majesty, which all good subjects abhor, when such a command is according to law.

Most dignities of this kingdom consist only of parochial tithes, and the dignitaries are ministers of parishes. A doubt may therefore arise, whether the said dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded,

to

to make their contributions in both capacities, distinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parsons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the poorest kind of benefices; and it should seem hard to put poor dignitaries under the necessity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of exposing themselves to the censure of wanting charity, by making their contributions publick.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to "let not our left hand know what our right "hand doth;" which cannot well consist with our being willed, required, and commanded, by any earthly power, where no law is prescribed, to publish our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is said, in the said brief, "That the parson, vicar, &c. of every parish, shall, "in six days after the receipt of the said charity, "return it to his respective chancellor, &c." This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expense, to the said parson, in remote and desolate parts of the country; where often an honest messenger (if such a one can be got) must be hired to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably cost more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs should happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We observe in the said brief, that the provost and fellows of the university, judges, officers of the court, and professors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded, to make their contributions; but that so good a work is only

only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive, that all his majesty's subjects are equally obliged, with or without his majesty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their ecclesiastical capacity, are only liable to such commands as the rubrick, or any other law, shall enjoin, being born to the same privileges of freedom with the rest of his majesty's subjects.

We cannot but observe to your grace, that, in the English act of the fourth year of queen Anne, for the better collecting charity money on briefs by letters patent, &c. the ministers are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from house to house with the churchwardens, nor to send the money collected to their respective chancellors, but pay it to the undertaker or agent of the sufferer. So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom shall not without any law in being, be put to greater hardships in this case than their brethren in England; where the legislature, intending to prevent the abuses in collecting charity money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of those difficulties we now complain of in the present brief by letters patent, for the relief of Charles M'Carthy aforesaid.

The collections upon the Lord's day are the principal support of our own numerous poor in our several parishes; and therefore every single brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole kingdom, must deprive several thousands of poor of their weekly maintenance, for the sake only of one person, who often becomes a sufferer by his own folly or negligence, and is sure to overvalue his losses double or treble: so that, if this precedent be followed, as it

certainly will if the present brief should succeed, we may probably have a new brief every week; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two persons, whereof not one in ten is deserving, and for the interest of a dozen dexterous clerks and secretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to starve.

We are credibly informed, that neither the officers of the lord primate in preparing the report of his grace's opinion, nor those of the great-seal in passing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a considerable sum: and thus the good intentions of well-disposed people are in a great measure disappointed, a large part of their charity being anticipated and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Lastly, We cannot but represent to your grace our great concern and grief, to see the pains and labour of our churchwardens so much increased, by the injunctions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great disadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loss of time; to which, great additions have been already made, by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poor-house, which they bear with great unwillingness; and if they shall find themselves farther laden with such briefs as this of M'Carthy, it will prove so great a discouragement, that we shall never be able to provide honest and sufficient persons for that weighty office of churchwarden, so necessary to the laity as well as the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulation of parishes.

Upon all these considerations, we humbly hope that your grace, of whose fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderness, we have had so many and great instances,

will represent the case to his most excellent majesty, or the chief governor in this kingdom, in such a manner, that we may be neither under the necessity of declining his majesty's commands in his letters patent, or of taking new and grievous burdens upon ourselves and our churchwardens, to which neither the rubrick, nor any other law in force, obliges us to submit.

OF THE

EDUCATION OF LADIES.

THERE is a subject of controversy which I have frequently met with, in mixed and select companies of both sexes, and sometimes only of men; "Whether it be prudent to choose a wife, who has "good natural sense, some taste of wit and humour, "sufficiently versed in her own natural language, "able to read and to relish history, books of travels, "moral or entertaining discourses, and be a tolerable "judge of the beauties in poetry?" This question is generally determined in the negative by the women themselves; but almost universally by the men.

We must observe, that in this debate, those whom we call men and women of fashion are only to be understood, not merchants, tradesmen, or others of such occupations, who are not supposed to have shared in a liberal education. I except likewise all

ministers of state during their power, lawyers and physicians in great practice, persons in such employments as take up the greater part of the day, and perhaps some other conditions of life which I cannot call to mind. Neither must I forget to except all gentlemen of the army, from the general to the ensign; because those qualifications above-mentioned in a wife, are wholly out of their element and comprehension; together with all mathematicians, and gentlemen lovers of musick, metaphysicians, virtuosi, and great talkers, who have all amusements enough of their own. All these put together will amount to a great number of adversaries, whom I shall have no occasion to encounter, because I am already of their sentiments. Those persons whom I mean to include are the bulk of lords, knights, and squires, throughout England, whether they reside between the town and country, or generally in either. I do also include those of the clergy who have tolerably good preferments in London or any other parts of the kingdom.

The most material arguments that I have met with, on the negative side of this great question, are what I shall now impartially report, in as strong a light as I think they can bear.

It is argued, "That the great end of marriage is "propagation: that consequently, the principal bu- "siness of a wife is to breed children, and to take care "of them in their infancy: That the wife is to look "on her family, watch over the servants, see that they "do their work: That she be absent from her house "as little as possible: That she is answerable for "every thing amiss in her family: That she is to obey "all the lawful commands of her husband; and visit

" or be visited by no persons whom he disapproves:
" That her whole business, if well performed, will take
" up most hours of the day: That the greater she is,
" and the more servants she keeps, her inspection
" must increase accordingly; for, as a family repre-
" sents a kingdom, so the wife, who is her husband's
" first minister, must, under him, direct all the of-
" ficers of state, even to the lowest; and report their
" behaviour to her husband, as the first minister does
" to his prince: That such a station requires much
" time, and thought, and order; and, if well execut-
" ed, leaves but little time for visits or diversions:
" That a humour of reading books, except those of
" devotion or housewifery, is apt to turn a woman's
" brain: That plays, romances, novels, and love-
" poems, are only proper to instruct them how to
" carry on an intrigue: That all affectation of know-
" ledge, beyond what is merely domestick, renders
" them vain, conceited, and pretending: That the
" natural levity of woman wants ballast; and when
" she once begins to think she knows more than
" others of her sex, she will begin to despise her
" husband, and grow fond of every coxcomb who
" pretends to any knowledge in books: That she will
" learn scholastick words; make herself ridiculous by
" pronouncing them wrong, and applying them ab-
" surdly in all companies: That in the mean time,
" her household affairs, and the care of her children,
" will be wholly laid aside; her toilet will be crowded
" with all the under-wits, where the conversation will
" pass in criticising on the last play or poem that
" comes out, and she will be careful to remember all
" the remarks that were made, in order to retail them
" in the next visit, especially in company who know

" nothing

" nothing of the matter: That she will have all the " impertinence of a pedant, without the knowledge; " and for every new acquirement, will become so " much the worse."

To say the truth, that shameful and almost universal neglect of good education among our nobility, gentry, and indeed among all others who are born to good estates, will make this essay of little use to the present age: for, considering the modern way of training up both sexes in ignorance, idleness, and vice, it is of little consequence how they are coupled together. And therefore my speculations on this subject can be only of use to a small number: for, in the present situation of the world, none but wise and good men can fail of missing their match, whenever they are disposed to marry; and consequently there is no reason for complaint on either side. The form by which a husband and wife are to live, with regard to each other and to the world, are sufficiently known and fixed, in direct contradiction to every precept of morality, religion, or civil institution: it would be therefore an idle attempt to aim at breaking so firm an establishment.

But, as it sometimes happens, that an elder brother dies late enough to leave the younger at the university, after he has made some progress in learning; if we suppose him to have a tolerable genius, and a desire to improve it, he may consequently learn to value and esteem wisdom and knowledge wherever he finds them, even after his father's death, when his title and estate come into his own possession. Of this kind, I reckon, by a favourable computation, there may possibly be found, by a strict search among the nobility and gentry throughout England, about five

hundred. Among those of all other callings or trades, who are able to maintain a son at the university, about treble that number. The sons of clergymen, bred to learning with any success, must, by reason of their parents poverty, be very inconsiderable, many of them being only admitted servitors in colleges, and consequently proving good for nothing: I shall therefore count them to be not above fourscore. But, to avoid fractions, I shall suppose there may possibly be a round number of two thousand male human creatures in England, including Wales, who have a tolerable share of reading and good sense. I include in this list all persons of superiour abilities, or great genius, or true judgment and taste, or of profound literature, who, I am confident, we may reckon to be at least five and twenty.

I am very glad to have this opportunity of doing an honour to my country, by a computation which I am afraid foreigners may conceive to be partial; when, out of only fifteen thousand families of lords and estated gentlemen, which may probably be their number, I suppose one in thirty to be tolerably educated, with a sufficient share of good sense. Perhaps the censure may be just. And therefore, upon cooler thoughts, to avoid all cavils, I shall reduce them to one thousand, which, at least, will be a number sufficient to fill both houses of parliament.

The daughters of great and rich families, computed after the same manner, will hardly amount to above half the number of the male: because the care of their education is either left entirely to their mothers, or they are sent to boarding-schools, or put into the hands of English or French governesses, and generally the worst that can be gotten for money. So that,

that, after the reduction I was compelled to, from two thousand to one, half the number of well-educated nobility and gentry must either continue in a single life, or be forced to couple themselves with women for whom they can possibly have no esteem; I mean fools, prudes, coquettes, gamesters, saunterers, endless talkers of nonsense, splenetic idlers, intriguers, given to scandal and censure, * * * *

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A

DISCOURSE

TO PROVE

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE;

Showing, from various Instances, that HEBREW, GREEK, and LATIN, were derived from the ENGLISH.

DURING the reign of parties for about forty years past, it is a melancholy consideration to observe how philology has been neglected, which was before the darling employment of the greatest authors, from the restoration of learning in Europe. Neither do I remember it to have been cultivated, since the Revolution, by any one person, with great success, except our illustrious modern star, doctor Richard Bentley, with whom the republick of learning must expire; as mathematicks did with sir Isaac Newton. My ambition has been gradually attempting, from my early youth, to be the holder of a rush-light before that great luminary; which, at least, might be of some little use during those short intervals, while he was snuffing his candle, or peeping with it under a bushel.

My present attempt is, to assert the antiquity of our English tongue; which, as I shall undertake to prove

prove by invincible arguments, has varied very little for these two thousand six hundred and thirty-four years past. And my proofs will be drawn from etymology; wherein I shall use my readers much fairer than Pezro, Skinner, Verstegan, Camden, and many other superficial pretenders have done; for I will put no force upon the words, nor desire any more favour than to allow for the usual accidents of corruption, or the avoiding a cacophonia.

I think, I can make it manifest to all impartial readers, that our language, as we now speak it, was originally the same with those of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, however corrupted in succeeding times by a mixture of barbarisms. I shall only produce at present, two instances among a thousand from the Latin tongue. *Cloaca*, which they interpret a *necessary-house*, is altogether an English word; the last letter *a* being, by the mistake of some scribe, transferred from the beginning to the end of the word. In the primitive orthography, it is called *a cloac*, which had the same signification; and still continues so at Edinburgh in Scotland, where a man in a *cloac*, or cloak, of large circumference and length, carrying a convenient vessel under it, calls out, as he goes through the streets, "Wha has need of me?" Whatever customer calls, the vessel is placed in the corner of the street; the *cloac*, or a cloak, surrounds and covers him; and thus he is eased with decency and secrecy.

The second instance is yet more remarkable. The Latin word *turpis* signifies *nasty*, or *filthy*. Now this word *turpis* is a plain composition of two English words; only, by a syncope, the last letter of the first syllable, which is *d*, is taken out of the middle, to prevent

prevent the jarring of three consonants together: and these two English words express the most unseemly excrements that belong to man.

But although I could produce many other examples, equally convincing, that the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, originally spoke the same language which we do at present; yet I have chosen to confine myself chiefly to the proper names of persons, because I conceive they will be of greater weight to confirm what I advance; the ground and reason of those names being certainly owing to the nature, or some distinguishing action or quality in those persons, and consequently expressed in the true ancient language of the several people.

I will begin with the Grecians, among whom the most ancient are the great leaders on both sides in the siege of Troy; for it is plain, from Homer, that the Trojans spoke Greek as well as the Grecians. Of these latter, *Achilles* was the most valiant. This hero was of a restless unquiet nature, never giving himself any repose either in peace or war; and therefore, as Guy of Warwick was called a *kill-cow*, and another terrible man a *kill-devil*, so this general was called *A-kill-ease*, or destroyer of ease; and at length, by corruption, *Achilles*.

Hector, on the other side, was the bravest among the Trojans. He had destroyed so many of the Greeks, by *hacking* and *tearing* them, that his soldiers, when they saw him fighting, would cry out, "Now "the enemy will be *hack't*, now he will be *tore*." At last, by putting both words together, this appellation was given to their leader, under the name of *Hack-tore*; and, for the more commodious sounding, *Hector*.

Diomede,

Diomede, another Grecian captain, had the boldness to fight with Venus, and wound her; whereupon the goddess, in a rage, ordered her son Cupid to make this hero to be hated by all women, repeating it often that he should *die a maid*; from whence, by a small change in orthography, he was called *Diomede*. And it is to be observed, that the term *maiden-head* is frequently, at this very day, applied to persons of either sex.

Ajax was, in fame, the next Grecian general to Achilles. The derivation of his name from *A jakes*, however asserted by great authors, is, in my opinion, very unworthy both of them and of the hero himself. I have often wondered to see such learned men mistake in so clear a point. This hero is known to have been a most intemperate liver, as it is usual with soldiers; and, although he was not old, yet, by conversing with camp-strollers, he had got pains in his bones, which he pretended to his friends were only *age-aches*; but they telling the story about the army, as the vulgar always confound right pronunciation, he was afterward known by no other name than *Ajax*.

The next I shall mention is *Andromache*, the famous wife of Hector. Her father was a Scotch gentleman, of a noble family still subsisting in that ancient kingdom. But, being a foreigner in Troy, to which city he led some of his countrymen in the defence of Priam, as Dictys Cretensis learnedly observes; Hector fell in love with his daughter, and the father's name was *Andrew Mackay*. The young lady was called by the same name, only a little softened to the Grecian accent.

Astyanax

Astyanax was the son of Hector and Andromache. When Troy was taken, this young prince had his head cut off, and his body thrown to swine. From this fatal accident he had his name; which has, by a peculiar good fortune, been preserved entire, *A sty, an ax.*

Mars may be mentioned among these, because he fought against the Greeks. He was called the God of war; and is described as a swearing, swaggering companion, and a great giver of rude language. For, when he was angry, he would cry, "Kiss *my a—se*, "*My a—se* in a bandbox, *My a—se* all over:" which he repeated so commonly, that he got the appellation of *My a—se*; and by a common abbreviation, *M'ars*; from whence, by leaving out the mark of elision, *Mars*. And this is a common practice among us at present; as in the words *D'anvers*, *D'avenport*, *D'anby*, which are now written *Danvers*, *Davenport*, *Danby*, and many others.

The next is *Hercules*, otherwise called *Alcides*. Both these names are English, with little alteration; and describe the principal qualities of that hero, who was distinguished for being a slave to his mistresses, and at the same time for his great strength and courage. *Omphale*, his chief mistress, used to call her lovers *her cullies*; and because this hero was more and longer subject to her than any other, he was in a particular manner called the chief of *her cullies:* which, by an easy change, made the word *Hercules*. His other name *Alcides* was given him on account of his prowess: for, in fight, he used to strike on *all sides*; and was allowed on *all sides* to be the chief hero of his age. For one of which reasons,

reasons, he was called *All sides*, or *Alcides*: but I am inclined to favour the former opinion.

A certain Grecian youth was a great imitator of Socrates; which that philosopher observing, with much pleasure, said to his friends, "There is an "*Ape o' mine own days*." After which the young man was called *Epaminondas*, and proved to be the most virtuous person, as well as the greatest general of his age.

Ucalegon was a very obliging inn-keeper of Troy. When a guest was going to take horse, the landlord took leave of him with this compliment, "Sir, "I should be glad to see *you call again*." Strangers, who knew not his right name, caught his last words; and thus, by degrees, that appellation prevailed, and he was known by no other name even among his neighbours.

Hydra was a great serpent, which Hercules slew. His usual outward garment was the *raw hyde* of a lion, and this he had on when he attacked the serpent; which, therefore, took its name from the skin; the modesty of that hero devolving the honour of his victory upon the lion's skin, calling that enormous snake the *Hyde-raw* serpent.

Leda was the mother of Castor and Pollux; whom Jupiter embracing in the shape of a swan, she laid a couple of eggs; and was therefore called *Laid a*, or *Leda*.

As to Jupiter himself, it is well known that the statues and pictures of this heathen god, in Roman catholic countries, resemble those of St. *Peter*, and are often taken the one for the other. The reason is manifest: for, when the emperors had established Christianity, the heathens were afraid of acknowledg-

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ing their heathen idols of the chief God, and pretended it was only a statue of the *Jew Peter*. And thus the principal heathen god came to be called by the ancient Romans, with very little alteration, Jupiter.

The *Hamadryades* are represented by mistaken antiquity as nymphs of the groves. But the true account is this: They were women of Calabria, who dealt in bacon; and living near the seaside, used to pickle their bacon in salt water, and then set it up to dry in the sun. From whence they were properly called *Ham-a-dry-a-days*, and in process of time, mispelt *Hamadryades*.

Neptune, the god of the sea, had his name from the *tunes* sung to him by the *Tritons*, upon their shells, every *neap* or *nep* tide. The word is come down to us almost uncorrupted, as well as that of *Tritons*, his servants; who, in order to please their master, used to *try* all *tones*, till they could hit upon that he liked.

Aristotle, was a peripatetic philosopher, who used to instruct his scholars while he was walking. When the lads were come, he would *arise to tell* them what he thought proper; and was therefore called *Arise to tell*. But succeeding ages, who understood not this etymology, have, by an absurd change, made it *Aristotle*.

Aristophanes was a *Greek* comedian, full of levity, and gave himself too much freedom; which made graver people not scruple to say, that he had a great deal of *airy stuff in his* writings: and these words, often repeated, made succeeding ages denominate him *Aristophanes*. Vide Rosin. Antiq. l. iv.

Alexander the Great was very fond of eggs roasted in hot ashes. As soon as his cooks heard he was come

come home to dinner or supper, they called aloud to their under-officers, *All eggs under the Grate:* which, repeated every day at noon and evening, made strangers think it was that prince's real name, and therefore gave him no other; and posterity has been ever since under the same delusion.

Pygmalion was a person of very low stature, but great valour; which made his townsmen call him *Pygmy lion:* and so it should be spelt; although the word has suffered less by transcribers than many others.

Archimedes was a most famous mathematician. His studies required much silence and quiet: but his wife having several maids, they were always disturbing him with their tattle or their business; which forced him to come out every now and then to the stair-head, and cry, "*Hark ye, maids*, if you will "not be quiet, I shall turn you out of doors." He repeated these words, *Hark ye, maids*, so often, that the unlucky jades, when they found he was at his study, would say, "There is *Hark ye, maids*; let us "speak softly." Thus the name went through the neighbourhood; and, at last, grew so general, that we are ignorant of that great man's true name to this day.

Strabo was a famous geographer; and to improve his knowledge, travelled over several countries, as the writers of his life inform us; who likewise add, that he affected great nicety and finery in his clothes: from whence people took occasion to call him the *Stray beau*; which future ages have pinned down upon him, very much to his dishonour.

Peloponnesus, that famous Grecian peninsula, got its name from a Greek colony in Asia the Less; many

many of whom going for traffick thither, and finding that the inhabitants had but one well in the town of * * * *, from whence certain porters used to carry the water through the city in great pails, so heavy that they were often forced to set them down for ease; the tired porters, after they had set down the pails, and wanted to take them up again, would call for assistance to those who were nearest, in these words, *Pail up, and ease us.* The stranger Greeks, hearing these words repeated a thousand times as they passed the street, thought the inhabitants were pronouncing the name of their country, which made the foreign Greeks call it *Peloponnesus*, a manifest corruption of *Pail up, and ease us.*

Having mentioned so many Grecians to prove my hypothesis, I shall not tire the reader with producing an equal number of Romans, as I might easily do. Some few will be sufficient.

Cæsar was the greatest captain of that empire. The word ought to be spelt *Seizer*, because he seized on not only most of the known world, but even the liberties of his own country: so that a more proper appellation could not have been given him.

Cicero was a poor scholar in the university of Athens, wherewith his enemies in Rome used to reproach him; and, as he passed the streets, would call out, *O Ciser, Ciser o!* A word still used in Cambridge, and answers to a servitor in Oxford.

Anibal was a sworn enemy of the Romans, and gained many glorious victories over them. This name appears, at first repeating, to be a metaphor drawn from tennis, expressing a skilful gamester, who can take *any ball*; and is very justly applied to so renowned a commander. Navigators are led into a strange

strange mistake upon this article. We have usually in our fleet some large man of war, called the *Anibal* with great propriety, because it is so strong that it may defy *any ball* from a cannon. And such is the deplorable ignorance of our seamen, that they miscall it the *Honey-ball.*

Cartago was the most famous trading city in the world; where, in every street, there was many a *cart a going*, probably laden with merchants goods. See Alexander ab Alexandro, and Suidas upon the word *Cartago.*

The word *Roman* itself is perfectly English, like other words ending in *man* or *men*, as *hangman*, *drayman*, *huntsman*, and several others. It was formerly spelt *Rowman*, which is the same with *Waterman.* And therefore when we read of *jesta* (or, as it is corruptly spelt, *gesta) Romanorum*, it is to be understood of the rough manner of *jesting* used by watermen; who, upon the sides of rivers, would *row man o'r um.* This I think is clear enough to convince the most incredulous.

Misanthropus was the name of an ill-natured man, which he obtained by a custom of catching a great number of *mice*, then shutting them up in a room, and throwing a cat among them. Upon which his fellow citizens called him *Mice and throw puss.* The reader observes how much the orthography has been changed, without altering the sound: but such depravations we owe to the injury of time, and gross ignorance of transcribers.

Among the ancients, fortunetelling by the stars was a very beggarly trade. The professors lay upon straw, and their cabins were covered with the same materials: whence every one who followed that

mystery was called *A straw lodger*, or a lodger in straw; but, in the new-fangled way of spelling, *Astrologer*.

It is remarkable that the very word *dipthong* is wholly English. In former times, schoolboys were chastised with thongs fastened at the head of a stick. It was observed that young lads were much puzzled with spelling and pronouncing words where two vowels came together, and were often corrected for their mistakes in that point. Upon these occasions the master would *dip* his *thongs* (as we now do rods) in p—, which made that difficult union of vowels to be called *dipthong*.

Bucephalus, the famous horse of Alexander, was so called because there were many grooms employed about him, which *fellows* were always *busy* in their office; and because the horse had so many *busy fellows* about him, it was natural for those who went to the stable to say, "Let us go to the *busy fellows*;" by which they meant, to see that prince's horse. And in process of time, these words were absurdly applied to the animal itself, which was thenceforth styled *Busy fellows*, and very improperly *Bucephalus*.

I shall now bring a few proofs of the same kind, to convince my readers that our English was well known to the Jews.

Moses, the great leader of those people out of Egypt, was in propriety of speech called *mow seas*, because he *mowed* the *seas* down in the middle, to make a path for the Israelites.

Abraham was a person of strong bones and sinews, and a firm walker, which made the people say, "He was a man (in the Scotch phrase, which comes nearest to the old Saxon) of *a bra ham*;" that is,

of

of a brave strong ham, from whence he acquired his name.

The man whom the Jews called Balaam was a shepherd; who by often crying *ba* to his *lambs*, was therefore called *Baalamb*, or *Balam*.

Isaac is nothing else but *Eyes ake*; because the talmudists report that he had a pain in his eyes. Vide Ben Gorion and the Targum on Genesis.

Thus I have manifestly proved, that the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, spoke the language we now do in England; which is an honour to our country that I thought proper to set in a true light, and yet has not been done, as I have heard, by any other writer.

And thus I have ventured (perhaps too temerariously) to contribute my mite to the learned world; from whose candour, if I may hope to receive some approbation, it may probably give me encouragement to proceed on some other speculations, if possible, of greater importance than what I now offer; and which have been the labour of many years, as well as of constant watchings, that I might be useful to mankind, and particularly to mine own country.

THE

ANSWER

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PULTENEY, ESQ.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ROBERT WALPOLE *.

SIR, Oct. 15, 1730.

A PAMPHLET was lately sent me, entitled, "A letter from the Right Honourable Sir R. W. "to the Right Honourable W. P. Esq; occasioned "by the late invectives on the King, her Majesty, "and all the royal family." By these initial letters of our names, the world is to understand that you and I must be meant. Although the letter seems to require an answer, yet because it appears to be written rather in the style and manner used by some of your pensioners, than your own, I shall allow you the liberty to think the same of this answer, and leave the publick to determine which of the two actors can better personate their principals. That frigid and fustian way of haranguing wherewith your representer begins, continues, and ends his declamation, I shall leave to the criticks in eloquence and propriety to descant on; because it adds nothing to the weight of your accusations, nor will my de-

* Written by Dr. Swift.

fence

fence be one grain the better by exposing its puerilities.

I shall therefore only remark upon this particular, that the frauds and corruptions in most other arts and sciences, as law, physick (I shall proceed no farther) are usually much more plausibly defended, than in that of politicks; whether it be, that, by a kind of fatality, the vindication of a corrupt minister is always left to the management of the meanest and most prostitute writers; or whether it be, that the effects of a wicked or unskilful administration, are more publick, visible, pernicious, and universal: Whereas the mistakes in other sciences are often matters that affect only speculation; or at worst, the bad consequences fall upon few and private persons. A nation is quickly sensible of the miseries it feels, and little comforted by knowing what account it turns to by the wealth, the power, the honours conferred on those who sit at the helm, or the salaries paid to their penmen; while the body of the people is sunk into poverty and despair. A Frenchman in his wooden shoes, may, from the vanity of his nation, and the constitution of that government, conceive some imaginary pleasure in boasting the grandeur of his monarch, in the midst of his own slavery: but a freeborn Englishman, with all his loyalty, can find little satisfaction at a minister overgrown in wealth and power, from the lowest degree of want and contempt; when that power or wealth are drawn from the bowels and blood of the nation, for which every fellow subject is a sufferer, except the great man himself, his family, and his pensioners. I mean such a minister (if there has ever been such a one) whose whole ma-

nagement has been a continued link of ignorance, blunders, and mistakes in every article, beside that of enriching and aggrandizing himself.

For these reasons the faults of men, who are most trusted in publick business, are, of all others, the most difficult to be defended. A man may be persuaded into a wrong opinion, wherein he has small concern: but no oratory can have the power over a sober man, against the conviction of his own senses: and therefore, as I take it, the money thrown away on such advocates, might be more prudently spared, and kept in such a minister's own pocket, than lavished in hiring a corporation of pamphleteers to defend his conduct, and prove a kingdom to be flourishing in trade and wealth, which every particular subject (except those few already excepted) can lawfully swear, and by dear experience knows, to be a falsehood.

Give me leave, noble sir, in the way of argument, to suppose this to be your case; could you in good conscience, or moral justice, chide your paper-advocates for their ill success in persuading the world against manifest demonstration? Their miscarriage is owing, alas! to want of matter. Should we allow them to be masters of wit, raillery, or learning, yet the subject would not admit them to exercise their talents; and consequently, they can have no recourse but to impudence, lying, and scurrility.

I must confess, that the author of your letter to me has carried this last qualification to a greater height than any of his fellows: but he has, in my opinion, failed a little in point of politeness from the original which he affects to imitate. If I should say

say to a prime minister, "Sir, you have sufficiently "provided that Dunkirk should be absolutely de- "molished and never repaired; you took the best ad- "vantages of a long and general peace to discharge the "immense debts of the nation; you did wonders "with the fleet; you made the Spaniards submit to "our quiet possession of Gibraltar and Portmahon; "you never enriched yourself and family at the ex- "pense of the publick."——Such is the style of your supposed letter; which, however, if I am well informed, by no means comes up to the refinements of a fishwife at Billingsgate. "You never had a bas- "tard by Tom the waterman; you never stole a silver "tankard; you were never whipped at the cart's tail."

In the title of your letter, it is said to be "oc- "casioned by the late invectives on the King, her "Majesty, and all the Royal Family:" and the whole contents of the paper (stripped from your eloquence) goes on upon a supposition affectedly serious, that their majesties, and the whole royal family, have been lately bitterly and publickly inveighed against, in the most enormous and treasonable manner. Now, being a man, as you well know, altogether out of business, I do sometimes lose an hour in reading a few of those controversial papers upon politicks, which have succeeded for some years past to the polemical tracts between whig and tory: and in this kind of reading (if it may deserve to be so called) although I have been often but little edified, or entertained, yet has it given me occasion to make some observations. First, I have observed, that however men may sincerely agree in all the branches of the low church principle, in a tenderness for dissenters of every kind, in a perfect abhorrence of

popery and the pretender, and in the most firm adherence to the protestant succession in the royal house of Hanover; yet plenty of matter may arise to kindle their animosities against each other, from the various infirmities, follies, and vices inherent in mankind.

Secondly, I observed, that although the vulgar reproach, which charges the quarrels between ministers and their opposers, to be only a contention for power between those who are in, and those who would be in if they could: yet, as long as this proceeds no farther than a scuffle of ambition among a few persons, it is only a matter of course, whereby the publick is little affected. But, when corruptions are plain, open, and undisguised, both in their causes and effects, to the hazard of a nation's ruin, and so declared by all the principal persons, and the bulk of the people, those only excepted who are gainers by those corruptions: and when such ministers are forced to fly for shelter to the throne, with a complaint of disaffection to majesty against all who durst dislike their administration: Such a general disposition in the minds of men, cannot, I think, by any rules of reason, be called "the clamour of "a few disaffected incendiaries," grasping after power. It is the true voice of the people; which must and will at last be heard, or produce consequences that I dare not mention.

I have observed, thirdly, that among all the offensive printed papers which have come to my hand, whether good or bad, the writers have taken particular pains to celebrate the virtues of our excellent king and queen, even where these were, strictly speaking, no part of the subject: nor can it be properly

 objected

objected that such a proceeding was only a blind to cover their malice toward you and your assistants; because to affront the king, queen, or the royal family, as it would be directly opposite to the principles that those kind of writers have always professed, so it would destroy the very end they have in pursuit. And it is somewhat remarkable, that those very writers against you, and the regiment you command, are such as most distinguish themselves upon all, or upon no occasions, by their panegyricks on their prince; and as all of them do this without favour or hire, so some of them continue the same practice under the severest prosecution by you and your janizaries.

You seem to know, or at least very strongly to conjecture, who those persons are that give you so much weekly disquiet. Will you dare to assert that any of these are jacobites, endeavour to alienate the hearts of the people, to defame the prince, and then dethrone him (for these are your expressions) and that I am their patron, their bulwark, their hope, and their refuge? Can you think I will descend to vindicate myself against an aspersion so absurd? God be thanked, we have had many a change of ministry without changing our prince: for, if it had been otherwise, perhaps revolutions might have been more frequent. Heaven forbid that the welfare of a great kingdom, and of a brave people, should be trusted with the thread of a single subject's life; for I suppose it is not yet in your view to entail the ministryship in your family. Thus I hope we may live to see different ministers and different measures, without any danger to the succession in the royal protestant line of Hanover.

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You are pleased to advance a topick, which I could never heartily approve of in any party, although they have each in their turn advanced it while they had the superiority. You tell us, it is hard that while every private man shall have the liberty to choose what servants he pleases, the same privilege should be refused to a king. This assertion, crudely understood, can hardly be supported. If by servants be only meant those who are purely menial, who provide for their master's food and clothing, or for the convenience and splendour of his family, the point is not worth debating. But, the bad or good choice of a chancellor, a secretary, an ambassador, a treasurer, and many other officers, is of very high consequence to the whole kingdom: so is likewise that amphibious race of courtiers between servants and ministers; such as the steward, chamberlain, treasurer of the household, and the like, being all of the privy council, and some of the cabinet; who, according to their talents, their principles, and their degree of favour, may be great instruments of good or evil, both to the subject and the prince; so that the parallel is by no means adequate between a prince's court, and a private family. And yet, if an insolent footman be troublesome in the neighbourhood; if he breaks the people's windows, insults their servants, breaks into other folk's houses to pilfer what he can find, although he belong to a duke, and be a favourite in his station, yet those who are injured may, without just offence, complain to his lord, and for want of redress get a warrant to send him to the stocks, to Bridewell, or to Newgate, according to the nature and degree of his delinquencies. Thus the servants of the prince, whether menial or otherwise, if they be of his council, are subject to

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the inquiries and prosecutions of the great council of the nation, even as far as to capital punishment; and so must ever be in our constitution, till a minister can procure a majority even of that council to shelter him; which I am sure you will allow to be a desperate crisis, under any party of the most plausible denomination.

The only instance you produce, or rather insinuate, to prove the late invectives against the king, queen, and royal family, is drawn from that deduction of the English history, published in several papers, by the Craftsman; wherein are shown the bad consequences to the publick, as well as to the prince, from the practices of evil ministers in most reigns, and at several periods, when the throne was filled by wise monarchs, as well as by weak. This deduction, therefore, cannot reasonably give the least offence to a British king, when he shall observe that the greatest and ablest of his predecessors, by their own candour, by a particular juncture of affairs, or by the general infirmity of human nature, have sometimes put too much trust in confident, insinuating, and avaricious ministers.

Wisdom, attended by virtue and a generous nature, is not unapt to be imposed on. Thus Milton describes Uriel, "the sharpest-sighted spirit in "Heaven," and "regent of the sun," deceived by the dissimulation and flattery of the devil, for which the poet gives a philosophical reason, but needless here to quote. Is any thing more common, or more useful, than to caution wise men in high stations against putting too much trust in undertaking servants, cringing flatterers, or designing friends? Since the Asiatic custom of governing by prime ministers has

has prevailed in so many courts of Europe, how careful should every prince be in the choice of the person on whom so great a trust is devolved, whereon depend the safety and welfare of himself and all his subjects! Queen Elizabeth, whose administration is frequently quoted as the best pattern for English princes to follow, could not resist the artifices of the earl of Leicester; who, although universally allowed to be the most ambitious, insolent, and corrupt person of his age, was yet her greatest, and almost her only favourite: (his religion indeed being partly puritan and partly infidel, might have better tallied with present times) yet this wise queen would never suffer the openest enemies of that overgrown lord to be sacrificed to his vengeance; nor durst he charge them with a design of introducing popery, or the Spanish pretender.

How many great families do we all know, whose masters have passed for persons of good abilities, during the whole course of their lives, and yet the greatest part of whose estates have sunk in the hands of their stewards and receivers; their revenues paid them in scanty portions, at large discount, and treble interest, though they did not know it; while the tenants were daily racked, and at the same time accused to their landlords of insolvency. Of this species are such managers, who, like honest Peter Waters, pretend to clear an estate, keep the owner pennyless, and after seven years, leave him five times more in debt, while they sink half a plum into their own pockets.

Those who think themselves concerned, may give you thanks for that gracious liberty you are pleased to allow them of "taking vengeance on the minis-

"ters,

"ters, and there shooting their envenomed ar-"rows." As to myself; I neither owe you vengeance, nor make use of such weapons: but it is your weakness, or ill-fortune, or perhaps the fault of your constitution, to convert wholesome remedies into poison; for you have received better and more frequent instructions than any minister of your age and country, if God had given you the grace to apply them.

I dare promise you the thanks of half the kingdom, if you please to perform the promise you have made of suffering the Craftsman and company, or whatever other infamous wretches and execrable villains you mean, to take their vengeance only on your own sacred ministerial person, without bringing any of your brethren, much less the most remote branch of the royal family, into the debate. This generous offer I suspected from the first; because there were never heard of so many, so unnecessary, and so severe prosecutions as you have promoted during your ministry, in a kingdom where the liberty of the press is so much pretended to be allowed. But, in reading a page or two, I found you thought it proper to explain away your grant; for there you tell us, that "these "miscreants" (meaning the writers against you) "are to remember that the laws have ABUNDANT-"LY LESS generous, less mild and merciful senti-"ments" than yourself; and into their secular hands the poor authors must be delivered to fines, prisons, pillories, whippings, and the gallows. Thus your promise of impunity, which began somewhat jesuitically, concludes with the mercy of a Spanish inquisitor.

If it should so happen that I am neither abettor, patron,

patron, protector, nor supporter of these imaginary invectives "against the king, her majesty, or any "of the royal family," I desire to know what satisfaction I am to get from you, or the creature you employed in writing the libel which I am now answering? It will be no excuse to say, that I differ from you in every particular of your political reason and practice; because that will be to load the best, the soundest, and most numerous part of the kingdom with the denominations you are pleased to bestow upon me, that they are "jacobites, wicked "miscreants, infamous wretches, execrable villains, "and defamers of the king, queen, and all the royal "family," and "guilty of high treason." You cannot know my style; but I can easily know your works, which are performed in the sight of the sun. Your good inclinations are visible; but I begin to doubt the strength of your credit, even at court, that you have not power to make his majesty believe me the person which you represent in your libel; as most infallibly you have often attempted, and in vain, because I must otherwise have found it by the marks of his royal displeasure. However, to be angry with you, to whom I am indebted for the greatest obligation I could possibly receive, would be the highest ingratitude. It is to YOU I owe that reputation I have acquired for some years past of being a lover of my country and its constitution: to YOU I owe the libels and scurrilities conferred upon me by the worst of men, and consequently some degree of esteem and friendship from the best. From YOU I learned the skill of distinguishing between a patriot and plunderer of his country; and from YOU I hope

I hope in time to acquire the knowledge of being a loyal, faithful, and useful servant to the best of princes, king George the Second; and therefore I can conclude, by your example, but with greater truth, that I am not only with humble submission and respect, but with infinite gratitude, Sir, your most obedient and most obliged servant,

W. P.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES*.

Nihil est aliud in fœdere, nisi ut pia et æterna pax sit.

CICERO, pro C. Balbo.

Jan. 16, 1712-13.

I BEGIN to think, that though perhaps there may be several very exact maps of Great Britain to be had at the shops in Amsterdam or The Hague; and some shining genii in that country can, it may be, look out the most remarkable places in our iſland, especially those upon the seacoast or near it, as Portsmouth, Chatham, Torbay, and the like; yet it is highly necessary, that "Chamberlaine's Pre-"sent State," or some other good book of that sort, were carefully translated into Dutch, *in usum illustrissimorum ordinum*, or with any other sounding and pompous title, only signifying, that it was done for the use of our good allies, and to set them right in

* "I gave the *Examiner* a hint about this prorogation; and to "praise the queen for her tenderness to the *Dutch*, in giving them "still more time to submit. It suited the occasion at present." Journal to *Stella*, *Jan.* 15, 1712-13.

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the nature of our government, constitution, and laws; with which they do not appear to be so well acquainted as might be expected. I am sensible that as things now stand, if a manifesto or memorial should be sent them, humbly representing to their high mightinesses, That Great Britain is an independent monarchy, governed by its own laws: that the queen is supreme over all orders of the realm: that no other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, has, or ought to have, any authority and jurisdiction over us: that where the queen, lords, and commons, solemnly consent, it is a law; and where the collective body of the people agree, it is the sense of the nation: that the making war and peace is the prerogative of the crown; and that all alliances are to be observed only so far as they answer the ends for which they were made: in such a case, it is not unlikely but the Amsterdam Gazette, or some other paper in the Seven Provinces, would immediately answer all this, by publickly protesting, that it came from the jacobites and frenchified highfliers, and therefore ought not to be admitted as genuine: for, of late, that celebrated writer, and two or three of his seconds, have undertaken to tell us poor Britons, who are our best subjects, and how we ought to behave ourselves toward our allies. So that, in this unhappy juncture, I do not see when we shall come to a right understanding. On the other hand, suppose we agreed to give them the precedence, and left the first proposal for overtures of accommodation to their management; this perhaps might quickly bring us to be better acquainted. Let them therefore lay aside all clumsy pretences to address; tell us no more of former battles, sieges, and glories; nor

make love to us in prose, and extol our beauty, our fortune, and their own passion for us, to the stars: but let them come roundly to the business, and in plain terms give us to understand, that they will not recognize any other government in Great Britain, but whiggarchy only: that they treated with us as such, and are not obliged to acknowledge a usurped power, called a monarchy, to which they are utter strangers: that they have a just demand upon us ever since the Revolution; which is a precedent for their interposing, whenever popery and arbitrary power are coming in upon us, which at present they are informed by their friends is our case: and besides, they are advised by able counsel, that we are only tenants for life; and they, being mentioned in the entail, are obliged to have a watchful eye over us, and to see that neither waste nor dilapidation be done upon the premises. If all this be not the case, and a true state of the controversy, as I heartily hope it is not, I leave any rational creature, pick him where you will between the Danube and Ganges, to judge of the following remonstrance.

A war is undertaken by several potentates in conjunction, upon certain causes and conditions, plainly expressed in a writing called "The Grand Alliance." This war is carried on with success; the enemy offers to treat, and proposes to satisfy all the just demands of the several parties engaged against them. Great Britain makes her claim, so does Portugal; and both are fully satisfied. The Dutch produce their barrier of Gertruydenberg; and are assured they shall have it, except two or three places at most. Savoy and Prussia have more than ever they asked. Only the emperor will have all Spain,

contrary to the reasons upon which his brother's renunciation was founded, and in direct violation of a fundamental maxim, "The balance of power:" so that he would involve us in a second war, and a new "Grand Alliance," under pretence of observing the old one. This, in short, is the case; and yet, after all the bloodshed, expense, and labour, to compass these great ends, though her Britannick Majesty finds by experience that every potentate in the Grand Alliance, except herself, has actually broke it every year; though she stands possessed of an undoubted right to make peace and war; though she has procured for her allies all that she was obliged to by treaty; though her two houses of parliament humbly entreat her to finish the great work; though her people with one voice admire and congratulate the wise steps she has taken, and cry aloud to her to defer their happiness no longer; though some of the allies, and one or two of the provinces, have declared for peace, and her majesty's domestick enemies dread it as the utter downfal of their faction; yet still the blessing depends, and expectation is our lot. The menacing pensionary has scruples: he desires time to look out for something to demand: there are a dozen or two of petty princes, who want silk stockings, and lace round their hats: we must stay till the second part of Denain comes upon the stage, and squire South promises to go directly to Madrid, the next time we show him the way thither.

Her majesty is all goodness and tenderness to her people and her allies. A brighter example of piety could not adorn the life of her royal grandfather, whose solemn anniversary we must shortly celebrate.

She has now prorogued the best parliament that ever assembled in her reign; and respited her own glory, and the wishes, prayers, and wants of her people, only to give some of her allies an opportunity to think of the returns they owe her, and try if there be such things as gratitude, justice, or humanity, in Europe. This conduct of her majesty is without parallel. Never was so great a condescension made to the unreasonable clamours of an insolent faction, now dwindled to the most contemptible circumstances. It is certainly high time they should begin to meditate other measures, unless they vainly imagine the government must part with both its attributes of mercy and justice, till they are pleased to be dutiful and obedient. What ill-grounded hopes and expectations they have underhand administered to any of the allies, is not worth my while to inquire; since, whatever they are, they must come attended with the blackest treason and ingratitude. The Dutch have the least reason in the world to rely on such a broken reed; and after having solemnly promised to conform themselves to her majesty's wisdom, and depend on her conduct, which is the language of their latest professions, such clandestine management would fully deserve all those appellations, with which the writings of the whigs are so richly embellished.

After all, when her majesty and her subjects have waited one period more, and affixed a new date to their wishes and their patience; since peace is the only end of every alliance, and since all that we fought for is yielded up by the enemy, in justice to her prerogative, to her parliament, and her people, the desirable blessing will, no doubt, be reached out to us: our happiness will not be put off till they who have ill-will

ill-will at us can find time and power to prevent it. All that a stubborn ally can then expect, is, time to come in, and accept those terms which himself once thought reasonable. The present age will soon taste the sweets of such conduct; and posterity as highly applaud it. Only they who now rail and calumniate, will do so still, and who are disposed to give every thing the same treatment which makes for our safety and welfare, and spoils their game of disorder and confusion.

It is true, the present stagnation of affairs is accounted for another way; and the party give out, that France begins to draw back, and would explain several articles upon us: but the authors of this forgery know very well I do not miscal it; and are conscious to the criminal reasons why it is with so much industry bandied about. France rather enlarges her offers, than abates or recedes from them: so happy are we in finding our most inveterate and ungenerous enemies within our own bowels! The whigs, according to custom, may chuckle and solace themselves with the visionary hopes of coming mischief; and imagine they are grown formidable, because they are to be humoured in their extravagances, and to be paid for their perverseness. Let them go on to glory in their projected schemes of government, and the blessed effects they have produced in the world. It was not enough for them to make obedience the duty of the sovereign, but this obedience must at length be made passive; and that nonresistance may not wholly vanish from among the virtues, since the subject is weary of it, they would fairly make it over to their monarch. The compact between prince and people is supposed to be

mutual; but Grand Alliances are, it seems, of another nature: a failure in one party does not disengage the rest; they are tied up and entangled so long as any one confederate adheres to the negative; and we are not allowed to make use of the Polish argument, and plead *Non loquitur*. But these artifices are too thin to hold: they are the cobwebs which the faction have spun out of the last dregs of their poison, made to beswept away with the unnecessary animals who contrived them. Their tyranny is at an end; and their ruin very near: I can only advise them to become their fall, like Cæsar, and "die with de-"cency."

A

COMPLETE REFUTATION

OF

THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST

ERASMUS LEWIS*, Esq.

" Beware of Counterfeits, for such are abroad."
Dr. STAFFOLD's Quack-bill.

" Quin, quæ dixisti modo,
Omnia ementitus equidem Sosia Amphitryonis sum."
PLAUT.

" Parva motu primo, mox sense attollit in auras."
VIRG.

Feb. 2, 1712-13.

I INTEND this paper for the service of a particular person; but herein I hope, at the same time, to do some good to the publick. A monstrous story has been for a while most industriously handed about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great trust under the principal secretary of state; who has conducted himself with so much prudence, that before this incident,

* " My friend Lewis has had a lye spread on him, by the mis-
" take of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him
" thanks for passing his privy seal to come from France. That
" other Lewis spread about, that the man brought him thanks from
" lord Perth and lord Melfort (lords now with the pretender) for
" his great services, &c. The lords will examine that other Lewis
" to morrow in council; and I believe you will hear of it in the
" prints, for I will make Abel Roper give an account of it." Journal to Stella, Jan. 27, 1712-13.

" I was

cident, neither the most virulent pens nor tongues have been so bold as to attack him. The reader easily understands, that the person here meant is Mr. Lewis, secretary to the earl of Dartmouth; concerning whom a story has run, for about ten days past, which makes a mighty noise in this town, is no doubt with very ample additions transmitted to every part of the kingdom, and probably will be returned to us by the Dutch Gazetteer, with the judicious comments peculiar to that political author: wherefore, having received the fact and the circumstances from the best hands, I shall here set them down before the reader; who will easily pardon the style, which is made up of extracts from the depositions and assertions of the several persons concerned.

On Sunday last was month, Mr. Lewis, secretary to the earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Skelton, met by accident at Mr. Scarborough's lodgings in St. James's, among seven other persons, viz. the earls of Sussex and Finlater, the lady Barbara Skelton, lady Walter, Mrs. Vernon, Mrs. Scarborough, and miss Scarborough her daughter; who all declared, "that Mr. "Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company "together." There Mrs. Scarborough made Mr. Skelton and Mr. Lewis known to each other; and told the former, "that he ought to thank Mr. "Lewis for the trouble he had given himself in the

"I was in the city with my printer, to alter an Examiner; about "my friend Lewis's story, which will be told with remarks."
Ibid. Jan. 31.

"I could do nothing till to day about the Examiner; but the "printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to "be said: and then Mr. Lewis came, and corrected it as he would "have it; so that I was neither at church nor court." Ibid. Feb. 1.

"dispatch

" dispatch of a license under the privy seal, by which " Mr Skelton was permitted to come from France " to England." Hereupon Mr. Skelton saluted Mr. Lewis, and told him, " he would wait on him " at his house, to return him his thanks." Two or three days after, Mr. Skelton, in company with the earl of Sussex, his lady's father, went to a house in Marlborough street, where he was informed Mr. Lewis lived; and, as soon as the supposed Mr. Lewis * appeared, Mr. Skelton expressed himself in these words: " Sir, I beg your pardon; I find I am mis- " taken: I came to visit Mr. Lewis of my lord Dart- " mouth's office, to thank him for the service he did " me in passing my privy-seal." Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, " Sir, there is no harm done." Upon which, Mr. Skelton immediately withdrew to my lord Sussex, who staid for him in the coach; and drove away. Mr. Skelton, who was a stranger to the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr. Lewis's without more particular directions: and this was the occasion of the mistake.

For above a fortnight nothing was said of this matter; but, on Saturday the 24th of January last, a report began to spread, that Mr. Skelton going by mistake to Mr. Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, instead of Mr. Lewis of the secretary's office, had told him, " that he had services for him from the earls of Perth, " Middleton, Melfort, and about twelve persons " more, of the court of St. Germain." When Mr Lewis heard of this, he wrote to the above-mentioned Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, desiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for answer, " that his friend Skelton could

* Mr. Henry Lewis, a Hamburgh merchant.

" best

" best inform him." Mr. Lewis wrote a second letter, insisting on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly he and Charles Ford, esq. went the next morning, and found the said Levi in a great surprise at the report, who declared, " He had never given " the least occasion for it; and that he would go to " all the coffeehouses in town, to do Mr. Lewis jus- " tice." He was asked by Mr. Lewis, " Whether " Mr. Skelton had named from what places and per- " sons he had brought those services?" Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, " He was positive Mr. Skelton " had neither named person nor place." Here Mr. Skelton was called in; and Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, confirmed what he had said in his hearing. Mr. Lewis then desired, he would give him in writing what he had declared before the company; but Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, excused it, as unnecessary, " because he " had already said he would do him justice in all the " coffeehouses in town." On the other hand, Mr. Lewis insisted to have it in writing, as being less troublesome; and to this Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, replied, " That he would give his answer by three " o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly Mr. Ford went to his house at the time appointed, but did not find him at home; and in the mean time the said Levi went to White's Chocolate-house; where, notwithstanding all he had before denied, he spread the above-mentioned report afresh, with several additional circumstances, as, " That when Mr. Skelton " and the earl of Sussex came to his house, they " staid with him a considerable time, and drank " tea."

The

The earl of Peterborough, uncle to the said Mr. Skelton, thought himself obliged to inquire into the truth of this matter: and after some search, found Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, at the Thatched-house tavern; where he denied every thing again to his lordship, as he had done in the morning to Mr. Ford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Skelton.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the queen, her majesty was pleased to order an examination of it by some lords of the council. Their lordships appointed Wednesday the 28th of January last for this inquiry: and gave notice for attendance to the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, and several other persons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, was called in, he declared, "That Mr. Skel-"ton told him he had services for him from France, "but did not name any persons." William Pulteney, esq. who was summoned, affirmed, "That he "had told him, Mr. Skelton named the earls of Perth "and Melfort." Here Levi, *alias* Lewis, appeared in confusion; for he had intreated Mr. Pulteney, not to say he had named any names, "for he would not "stand it;" but Mr. Pulteney answered, "You may "give yourself the lie; I will not." The earl of Sussex declared, "he did not go out of his coach, and "that his son-in-law, Mr. Skelton, had not been "gone half a minute before he returned to the coach." Mr. Skelton declared, "That he knew Mr. Lewis "by sight perfectly well; that he immediately saw "his mistake; that he said nothing to him but the "words first mentioned; and that he had not brought "Mr. Lewis any service from any person whatso-"ever." The earl of Finlater and other persons summoned declared, "That Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skel-

"ton

" ton were personally known to each other," which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr. Skelton should mistake him: so that the whole matter appeared to be only a foolish and malicious invention of the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, who, when called to an account, utterly disowned it.

If Mr. Levi's view, in broaching this incoherent slander, was to make his court to any particular persons, he has been extremely disappointed; since all men of principle, laying aside the distinction of opinions in politicks, have entirely agreed in abandoning him; which I observe with a great deal of pleasure, as it is for the honour of humankind. But, as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engrossed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever bias they may receive by mistaken principles or mistaken politicks, will not be extinguished. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing justice to William Pulteney, esq. who, being desired by this same Mr. Levi to drop one part of what he knew, refused it with disdain. Men of honour will always side with the truth; of which the behaviour of Mr. Pulteney, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable instances.

I am only sorry, that the unhappy author of this report seems left so entirely desolate of all his acquaintance, that he has nothing but his own conduct to direct him; and consequently is so far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that, in the Daily Courant of Saturday last, he has published a Narrative, as he calls it, of what passed between him and Mr. Skelton; wherein he recedes from some part of his former confession. This narrative

rative is drawn up by way of answer to an advertisement in the same paper two days before: which advertisement was couched in very moderate terms, and such as Mr. Levi ought, in all prudence, to have acquiesced in. I freely acquit every body but himself from any share in this miserable proceeding; and can foretel him, that as his prevaricating manner of adhering to some part of the story will not convince one rational person of his veracity; so neither will any body interpret it otherwise than as a blunder of a helpless creature, left to itself; who endeavours to get out of one difficulty, by plunging into a greater. It is therefore for the sake of this poor young man, that I shall set before him, in the plainest manner I am able, some few inconsistencies in that narrative of his; the truth of which, he says, he is ready to attest upon oath; which whether he would avoid by an oath only upon the gospels, himself can best determine.

Mr. Levi says, in the aforesaid narrative in the Daily Courant, "That Mr. Skelton mistaking him "for Mr. Lewis, told him he had several services to "him from France, and named the names of several "persons, which he [Levi] will not be positive to." Is it possible that, among several names, he cannot be positive so much as to *one*, after having named the earls of Perth, Middleton, and Melfort, so often at White's and the coffeehouses? Again, he declared, "that my lord Sussex came in with Mr. Skelton; "that both drank tea with him;" and therefore whatever words passed, my lord Sussex must be a witness to. But his lordship declares before the council, "that he never stirred out of the coach; and that "Mr. Skelton, in going, returning, and talking with "Levi, was not absent half a minute." Therefore,

now,

now, in his printed narrative, he contradicts that essential circumstance of my lord Sussex coming in along with Mr. Skelton; so that we are here to suppose that this discourse passed only between him and Mr. Skelton, without any third person for a witness, and therefore he thought he might safely affirm what he pleased. Besides, the nature of their discourse, as Mr. Levi reports it, makes this part of his narrative impossible and absurd, because the truth of it turns upon Mr. Skelton's mistaking him for the real Mr. Lewis; and it happens that seven persons of quality were by in a room, where Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company, and saw them talk together. It happens likewise, that the real and counterfeit Lewis have no more resemblance to each other in their persons, than they have in their understandings, their truth, their reputation, or their principles. Besides, in this narrative, Mr. Levi directly affirms what he directly denied to the earl of Peterborough, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lewis himself; to whom he twice or thrice expressly affirmed, that Mr. Skelton had not named either place or person.

There is one circumstance in Levi's narrative, which may deceive the reader. He says, "Mr. "Skelton was taken into the dining-room;" this dining-room is a ground-room next the street, and Mr. Skelton never went farther than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thousand various ways of telling his story, are too tedious to be related. I shall therefore conclude with one remark: By the true account given in this paper, it appears that Mr. Skelton finding his mistake before he spoke a word, begged Mr. Levi's

Levi's pardon, and by way of apology, told him, "his visit was intended to Mr. Lewis of my lord "Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the *service* "he had done him, in passing the privy-seal." It is probable that Mr. Levi's low intellectuals were deluded by the word *service*, which he took as compliments from some persons; and then it was easy to find names. Thus, what his ignorance and simplicity misled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more solicitous to set this matter in a clear light, because Mr. Lewis being employed and trusted in publick affairs, if this report had prevailed, persons of the first rank might possibly have been wounded through his sides *.

* This account by Dr. Swift was published Feb. 2; and was confirmed in the Gazette of the following day by three advertisements, containing the respective affidavits of Erasmus Lewis, esq. Charles Ford, esq. and brigadier Skelton. The two first of these gentlemen deposed, "That, having called at Mr. Henry Lewis's "house, he told them, He was much surprised at the reports which "had been raised on this occasion; and that he would go to all the "chocolatehouses and coffeehouses in town, to do justice to Mr. "Erasmus Lewis." And the testimony of Mr. Skelton himself seems sufficiently to have cleared up the whole. Yet there remained some who were obstinately incredulous; as appears by the Flying Post of Feb. 3.

SOME

THOUGHTS

ON

FREETHINKING.

[Written in England, but left unfinished.]

DISCOURSING one day with a prelate of the kingdom of Ireland, who is a person of excellent wit and learning, he offered a notion applicable to the subject we were then upon, which I took to be altogether new and right. He said, that the difference betwixt a madman and one in his wits, in what related to speech, consisted in this; that the former spoke out whatever came into his mind, and just in the confused manner as his imagination presented the ideas: the latter only expressed such thoughts as his judgment directed him to choose, leaving the rest to die away in his memory; and that, if the wisest man would, at any time, utter his thoughts in the crude indigested manner as they come into his head, he would be looked upon as raving mad. And indeed, when we consider our thoughts, as they are the seeds of words and actions, we cannot but agree that they ought to be kept under the strictest

strictest regulation; and that in the great multiplicity of ideas which one's mind is apt to form, there is nothing more difficult than to select those which are most proper for the conduct of life. So that I cannot imagine what is meant by the mighty zeal in some people for asserting the freedom of thinking; because, if such thinkers keep their thoughts within their own breasts, they can be of no consequence, farther than to themselves. If they publish them to the world, they ought to be answerable for the effects their thoughts produce upon others. There are thousands in this kingdom, who, in their thoughts, prefer a republick, or absolute power of a prince, before a limited monarchy; yet, if any of these should publish their opinions, and go about, by writing or discourse, to persuade the people to innovations in government, they would be liable to the severest punishments the law can inflict; and therefore they are usually so wise as to keep their sentiments to themselves. But, with respect to religion, the matter is quite otherwise: and the publick, at least here in England, seems to be of opinion with *Tiberius*, that *Deorum injuriæ diis curæ*. They leave it to God Almighty to vindicate the injuries done to himself, who is no doubt sufficiently able, by perpetual miracles, to revenge the affronts of impious men. And, it should seem, that is what princes expect from him, though I cannot readily conceive the grounds they go upon; nor why, since they are God's vicegerents, they do not think themselves, at least equally obliged to preserve their master's honour as their own; since this is what they expect from those they depute, and since they never fail to represent the disobedience of their subjects, as offences against

God. It is true, the visible reason of this neglect is obvious enough : the consequences of atheistical opinions, published to the world, are not so immediate, or so sensible, as doctrines of rebellion and sedition, spread in a proper season. However, I cannot but think the same consequences are as natural and probable from the former, though more remote : and whether these have not been in view among our great planters of infidelity in England, I shall hereafter examine.

HINTS

ON

GOOD MANNERS.

GOOD MANNERS is the art of making every reasonable person in the company easy, and to be easy ourselves.

What passes for good manners in the world, generally produces quite contrary effects.

Many persons of both sexes, whom I have known, and who passed for well-bred in their own, and the world's opinion, are the most troublesome in company to others and themselves.

Nothing is so great an instance of ill-manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you please none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the rest.

Flattery is the worst and falsest way of showing our esteem.

Where the company meets, I am confident the few reasonable persons are every minute tempted to curse the man or woman among them, who endeavours to be most distinguished for their good manners.

A man of sense would rather fast till night, than dine at some tables, where the lady of the house is

possessed with good manners; uneasiness, pressing to eat, teasing with civility; less practised in England than here.

Courts are the worst of all schools to teach good manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dress, are no part of good manners: and therefore every man of good understanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occasion.

To speak in such a manner, as may possibly offend any reasonable person in company, is the highest instance of ill-manners. Good manners chiefly consist in action, not in words. Modesty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have known the court of England under four reigns, the two last but for a short time; and whatever good manners or politeness I observed in any of them, was not of the court growth, but imported: for a courtier by trade, as gentlemen ushers, bedchamber-women, maids of honour, * * * *

* * * * * * * * * *

Of Good Manners as to Conversation.

Men of wit and good understanding, as well as breeding, are sometimes deceived, and give offence, by conceiving a better opinion of those with whom they converse than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the most innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praise, to be mistaken for abuse and reflection.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to suffer.

Of

Of arguers, perpetual contradicters, long talkers, those who are absent in company, interrupters, not listeners, loud laughers.

Of those men and women whose face is ever in a smile, talk ever with a smile, condole with a smile, &c.

Argument, as usually managed, is the worst sort of conversation; as it is generally in books the worst sort of reading.

Good conversation is not to be expected in much company, because few listen, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are discovered, let the company be ever so large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of conversation. It is done to support a character: it generally fails: it is a sort of insult on the company, and a constraint upon the speaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or business, or faculty, is a great breach of good manners. Divines, physicians, lawyers, soldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakness. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom * * *

* * * * * * * * * *

RESOLUTIONS

WHEN

I COME TO BE OLD.

Written in MDCXCIX.

NOT to marry a young woman.

Not to keep young company, unless they desire it.

Not to be peevish, or morose, or suspicious.

Not to scorn present ways, or wits, or fashions, or men, or war, &c.

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the same story over and over to the same people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency or cleanliness, for fear of falling into nastiness.

Not to be over severe with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weaknesses.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to, knavish tattling servants, or others.

Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but those who desire it.

To desire some good friends to inform me which of these resolutions I break or neglect, and wherein; and reform accordingly.

Not to talk much, nor of myself.

Not to boast of my former beauty, or strength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be beloved by a young woman; *et eos qui hæreditatem captant, odisse ac vitare.*

Not to be positive or opinionative.

Not to set up for observing all these rules, for fear I should observe none.

LAWS

FOR THE

DEAN'S SERVANTS.

December 7th, 1733.

IF either of the two men servants be drunk, he shall pay an English crown out of his wages for the said offence, by giving the dean a receipt for so much wages received.

When the dean is at home, no servant shall presume to be absent, without giving notice to the dean, and asking leave, upon the forfeiture of six pence for every half-hour that he is absent, to be stopped out of his or her board-wages.

When the dean is abroad, no servant, except the woman, shall presume to leave the house for above one half-hour; after which, for every half-hour's absence, he shall forfeit six pence: and if the other servant goes out before the first returns, he shall pay five shillings out of his wages, as above.

Whatever servant shall be taken in a manifest lie, shall forfeit one shilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the dean goes about the house, or out-houses, or garden, or to Naboth's Vineyard, whatever things he finds out of order, by neglect of any servant

vant under whose care it was, that servant shall forfeit six pence, and see to get it mended as soon as possible, or suffer more forfeitures at the dean's discretion.

If two servants be abroad together when the dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the dean; the concealer shall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If, in waiting at table, the two servants be out of the room together, without orders, the last who went out shall forfeit three pence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the same penalty with the men; but provided the two men-servants keep the house until she returns: otherwise, either of the servants who goes out before her return, shall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the dean shall think fit to make, at any time to come, for the government of his servants, and forfeitures for neglect or disobedience, all the servants be bound to submit to.

Whatever other servant, except the woman, shall presume to be drunk, the other two servants shall inform the dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, beside the forfeiture of a crown from the said servant who was drunk.

OF

MEAN AND GREAT FIGURES,

Made by several Persons.

Of those who have made GREAT FIGURES in some particular Action or Circumstance of their Lives.

ALEXANDER the Great, after his victory (at the Straits of Mount Taurus), when he entered the tent, where the queen and the princesses of Persia fell at his feet.

Socrates, the whole last day of his life, and particularly from the time he took the poison until the moment he expired.

Cicero, when he was recalled from his banishment, the people through every place he passed meeting him with shouts of joy and congratulation, and all Rome coming out to receive him.

Regulus, when he went out of Rome attended by his friends to the gates, and returned to Carthage according to his word of honour, although he knew he must

must be put to a cruel death, for advising the Romans to pursue their war with that commonwealth.

Scipio the Elder, when he dismissed a beautiful captive lady presented to him after a great victory, turning his head aside to preserve his own virtue.

The same Scipio, when he and Hannibal met before the battle, if the fact be true.

Cincinnatus, when the messengers sent by the senate to make him dictator, found him at the plough.

Epaminondas, when the Persian ambassador came to his house, and found him in the midst of poverty.

The earl of Strafford, the day that he made his own defence at his trial.

King Charles the Martyr, during his whole trial, and at his death.

The Black Prince, when he waited at supper on the king of France, whom he had conquered and taken prisoner the same day.

Virgil, when, at Rome, the whole audience rose up, out of veneration, as he entered the theatre.

Mahomet the Great, when he cut off his beloved mistress's head, on a stage erected for that purpose, to convince his soldiers, who taxed him for preferring his love to his glory.

Cromwell, when he quelled a mutiny in Hyde Park.

Harry the Great of France, when he entered Paris, and sat at cards the same night with some great ladies, who were his mortal enemies.

Robert

Robert Harley earl of Oxford, at his trial.

Cato of Utica, when he provided for the safety of his friends, and had determined to die.

Sir Thomas More, during his imprisonment, and at his execution.

Marius, when the soldier sent to kill him in the dungeon was struck with so much awe and veneration, that his sword fell from his hand.

Douglas, when the ship he commanded was on fire, and he lay down to die in it, because it should not be said, that one of his family ever quitted their post.

Of those who have made a mean contemptible Figure, in some Action or Circumstance of their Lives.

Anthony, at Actium, when he fled after Cleopatra.

Pompey, when he was killed on the seashore in Egypt.

Nero and Vitellius, when they were put to death.

Lepidus, when he was compelled to lay down his share of the triumvirate.

Cromwell, the day he refused the kingship out of fear.

Perseus king of Macedon, when he was led in triumph.

Richard II of England, after he was deposed.

The

The late king of Poland, when the king of Sweden forced him to give up his kingdom; and when he took it again, upon the king of Sweden's defeat by the Muscovites.

King James II of England, when the prince of Orange sent to him at midnight to leave London.

King William III of England, when he sent to beg the house of commons to continue his Dutch guards, and was refused.

The late queen Anne of England, when she sent Whitworth to Muscovy on an embassy of humiliation, for an insult committed here on that prince's ambassador.

The lord chancellor Bacon, when he was convicted of bribery.

The late duke of Marlborough, when he was forced, after his own disgrace, to carry his duchess's gold key to the queen.

The old earl of Pembroke, when a Scotch lord gave him a lash with a whip at Newmarket, in presence of all the nobility, and he bore it with patience.

King Charles II of England, when he entered into the second Dutch war; and in many other actions during his whole reign.

Philip II of Spain, after the defeat of the Armada.

The emperor Charles V, when he resigned his crown, and nobody would believe his reasons.

King

King Charles I of England, when, in gallantry to his queen, he thought to surprise her with a present of a diamond buckle, which he pushed down her breast, and tore her flesh with the tongue; upon which she drew it out, and flung it on the ground.

Fairfax, the parliament general, at the time of king Charles's trial.

Julius Cæsar, when Anthony offered to put a diadem on his head, and the people shouted for joy to see him decline it; which he never offered to do, until he saw their diflike in their countenances.

Coriolanus, when he withdrew his army from Rome at the entreaty of his mother.

Hannibal, at Antiochus's court.

Beau Fielding, at fifty years old, when, in a quarrel upon the stage, he was run into his breast, which he opened and shewed to the ladies, that he might move their love and pity; but they all fell a laughing.

The count de Bussy Rabutin, when he was recalled to court after twenty years banishment into the country, and affected to make the same figure he did in his youth.

The earl of Sunderland, when he turned papist in the time of king James II, and underwent all the forms of a heretick converted.

Pope Clement VII, when he was taken prisoner,

soner, at Rome, by the emperor Charles the Fifth's forces.

Queen Mary of Scotland, when she suffered Bothwell to ravish her, and pleaded that as an excuse for marrying him.

King John of England, when he gave up his kingdom to the pope, to be held as a fief to the see of Rome.

PREAMBLE TO MR. HARLEY'S PATENT.

The Reasons which induced her Majesty to create the Right Honourable ROBERT HARLEY a Peer of Great Britain, being a translation of the preamble to his Patent, dated May 11, 1711, and generally supposed to have been written by Dr. SWIFT.

[Printed from a copy in the Harleian Miscellany.]

WHATEVER favour may be merited from a just prince, by a man born of an illustrious and very ancient family *, fitted by nature for all great things, and by all sorts of learning qualified for greater; constantly employed in the study of state affairs, and with the greatest praise, and no small danger, exercising variety of offices in the government: so much does our well-beloved and very faithful counsellor ROBERT HARLEY †, deserve at our hands: he,

* This noble family is descended from the ancient house of the de Harlais in France. Their common ancestors were probably a family of that name resident in Shropshire long before the Conquest.

† Robert Harley, esq. eldest son of sir Edward Harley, was born in London, Dec. 5, 1661. He was educated at Shilton, a private school in Oxfordshire, remarkable for producing, at the same time, a lord high treasurer (the earl of Oxford) a lord high chancellor (lord Harcourt) a lord chief justice of the common pleas (lord Trevor), and ten members of the house of commons, who were all contemporaries as well at school as in parliament.

who

who in three successive parliaments was unanimously chosen speaker; and, at the same time that he filled the chair, was our principal secretary of state: in no wise unequal to either province. Places, so seemingly disagreeing, were easily reconciled by one, who knew how with equal weight and address to moderate and govern the minds of men: one who could preserve the rights of the people, without infringing the prerogative of the crown; and who thoroughly understood how well government could consist with liberty. This double task being performed; after some respite, he bore the weight of our exchequer as chancellor, and thereby prevented the farther plundering of the nation; and also provided for the settling of a new trade to the South Seas; and (by rescuing publick credit) so opportunely relieved the languishing condition of the treasury, as to deserve thanks from the parliament, blessings from the citizens, and from Us (who never separate our own interests from the publick) no small approbation. Therefore we decree to the man that has so eminently deserved of us and of all our subjects, those honours which were so long since due to him and his family; being induced thereto by our own good pleasure, and the suffrage of all Great Britain: for we take it as an admonition, that he should not in vain be preserved, whom the states of our realm have testified to be obnoxious to the hatred of wicked men, upon account of his most faithful services to us, and whom they have congratulated upon his escape from the rage of a flagitious parricide. We gladly indulge their wishes, that he, who comes thus recommended to us by so honour-

able a vote of both houses of parliament, should have his seat among the peers, to many of whom his family has been long allied; and that he, who is himself learned, and a patron of learning, should happily take his title from that city, where letters so gloriously flourish. Now know ye, &c.

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP FLEETWOOD'S PREFACE*.

" Ecce iterum Crispinus!"

THE Bishop of St. Asaph's famous Preface having been so much buffeted of late between advocates and opposers, I had a curiosity to inspect some of his other works. I sent to the booksellers in Duck Lane, and Little Britain, who returned me several of the sermons which belonged to that preface; among others, I took notice of that upon the death of the duke of Gloucester, which had a little preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberation, when those sermons were gathered up into a volume; though, considering the bulk, it could hardly be spared. It was a great masterpiece of art in this admirable author, to write such a sermon, as, by help of a preface, would pass for a tory discourse in one reign, and by omitting that preface, would denominate him a whig in another: thus, by changing the position, the picture represents either the pope or the devil, the cardinal or the fool. I confess, it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to rescue those sermons out of their dust and oblivion; without which, if the author had so pleased, they might have passed for new preached, as well as new printed: neither would the former preface have risen up in judgment to confound the latter. But,

* Originally printed in the second volume of the Examiner.

upon second thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully forgotten preface may not do the reverend author some service. It is to be presumed that the Spectator published the last with that intent: why therefore should not my publishing the first be for the same end? and I dare be confident, that the part I have chosen will do his lordship much more service; for here it will be found, that this prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him; and that while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have chosen to set it at length, to prevent what might be objected against me, as an unfair representer, should I reserve any part of this admirable discourse, as well as to imitate the judicious Spectator; though I fear I shall not have so good contributions from our party, as that author is said to have from another, upon the like occasion; or, if I chance to give offence, be promised to have my losses made up to me, for my zeal in circulating prefaces. Without any such deep and politick designs, I give it to the world out of mere good nature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy author has formerly had of things, when his business was yet undone; so to silence a clamorous party, who, from the late preface, are too apt, how unjustly soever, to conclude, his lordship's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.

In this excellent preface, the worthy author thought fit to charge the fanaticks and whigs, upon the duke of Gloucester's death, as people that would "try to make it a judgment of God upon us for our "sins, by turning the kingdom into a common-"wealth." The satire must certainly be determined to

to them; for neither the tories nor nonjurors were ever charged with such principles, but rather as carrying the regal authority too high, in asserting the divine right of kings. This species of government, which the learned prelate says, is "as ill fitted for "our nature as popery is for our religion," was by some people, it seems, endeavoured to be brought in, whom he terms "an impudent and clamorous faction." Whether that "impudent and clamorous faction" would really do all those things he charges them with, is by the whigs denied, and charitable men may in part make a question: but that by this he did, and could then only mean the whigs, could be no question at all; since none else were ever charged with those crimes in these kingdoms; and they have always been so, though seldom indeed so heavily, unless by high-flying tories or jacobites. It seems, his lordship had dreadful apprehensions of what they would "certainly do," and begs of God "evermore to preserve us from this species." And surely he was in the right; for that would be, indeed, "giving us we know not what"—his lordship's enemies "will tell the rest with pleasure!"

OBSERVATIONS

ON

HEYLIN'S HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIANS *, 1670.

THIS book, by some errours and neglects in the style, seems not to have received the author's last correction. It is written with some vehemence, very pardonable in one who had been an observer and a sufferer, in England, under that diabolical fanatick sect, which then destroyed church and state. But by comparing, in my memory, what I have read in other histories, he neither aggravates nor falsifies any facts. His partiality appears chiefly in setting the actions of Calvinists in the strongest light, without equally dwelling on those of the other side; which, however, to say the truth, was not his proper business. And yet he might have spent some more words on the inhuman massacre of Paris, and other parts of France, which no provocation (and yet the king had the greatest possible) could excuse, or much extenuate. The author, according to the current opinion of the age he lived in, had too high notions of regal power; led by the common mistake of the

* Written by the Dean in the beginning of the book, on one of the blank leaves.

term Supreme Magistrate, and not rightly distinguishing between the legislature and administration: into which mistake the clergy fell or continued, in the reign of Charles II, as I have shown and explained in a treatise, &c.

March 6, 1727-8.

J. SWIFT.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD PART OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MEMOIRS.

First published in 1709.

IT was perfectly in compliance to some persons for whose opinion I have great deference *, that I so long withheld the publication of the following papers. They seemed to think, that the freedom of some passages in these memoirs might give offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those affairs which are here related, could not be transmitted to posterity with any advantage to their reputation. But whether this objection be in itself of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least

* One of these was undoubtedly the lady *Gifford*, sir *William's* sister; who took this publication so ill at Dr. *Swift's* hands, that she published an advertisement against it.—In the preface to the second part of Sir *William's* Letters (printed in 1703) it appears those were the last papers *of any kind* about which Dr. *Swift* had sir *William's* particular commands; it is therefore not to be wondered, that lady *Gifford* should dislike this *third Part* being published without her consent. This lady died in 1722, at the age of 84. She was companion to sir *William* in all his foreign embassies.

it

it should have little with me, who am under no restraint in that particular; since I am not of an age to remember those transactions, nor had any acquaintance with those persons whose counsels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this author is very free in exposing the weakness and corruptions of ill ministers, so he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be observed from several passages of these memoirs; particularly, of the late earl of Sunderland, with whom the author continued in the most intimate friendship to his death; and who was father of that most learned and excellent lord now secretary of state: as likewise, of the present earl of Rochester; and the earl of Godolphin, now lord treasurer, represented by this impartial author as a person at that time deservedly entrusted with so great a part in the prime ministry; an office he now executes again with such universal applause, so much to the queen's honour and his own, and to the advantage of his country, as well as of the whole confederacy.

There are two objections I have sometimes heard to have been offered against those memoirs that were printed in the author's life-time, and which these now published may perhaps be equally liable to. First, as to the matter; that the author speaks too much of himself: next, as to the style; that he affects the use of French words, as well as some turns of expression peculiar to that language.

I believe, those who make the former criticism do not well consider the nature of memoirs: it is to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner

ner of writing; and sir William Temple is not only the first, but I think the only Englishman (at least of any consequence) who ever attempted it. The best French memoirs are writ by such persons as were the principal actors in those transactions they pretend to relate, whether of wars or negotiations. Those of sir William Temple are of the same nature; and therefore, in my judgment, the publisher * (who sent them into the world without the author's privity) gave them a wrong title, when he called them "Memoirs of what passed in Christen-"dom, &c." whereas it should rather have been, "Memoirs of the Treaty at Nimeguen," which was plainly the sense of the author, who in the epistle tells his son, that "in compliance with his desire, he "will leave him some memoirs of what passed in his "publick employments abroad;" and in the book itself, when he deduces an account of the state of war in Christendom, he says, it is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty; where he and sir Lionel Jenkins were the only mediators that continued any considerable time; and as the author was first in commission, so in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no sort of comparison between the two persons. Those memoirs, therefore, are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the author had the principal as well as the most honourable part in quality of mediator; so that the frequent mention of himself seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offered in defence of the following papers; because,

* They were first published in 1689, by *R. Chiswell*, whose advertisement is preserved in *Temple's* Works, vol. II, p. 242.

during

during the greatest part of the period they treat of, the author was in chief confidence with the king his master. To which may be added, that, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the first page, the author professes he writ those papers "for the satis-"faction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds "of his retirement, and his resolution never to "meddle again with public affairs." As to the objection against the style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French words and turns of expression; it is to be considered, that at the treaty of Nimeguen, all business, either by writing or discourse, passed in the French tongue; and the author having lived so many years abroad, in that and former embassies, where all business, as well as conversation, ran in that language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon publick affairs without some tincture of it in his style, though in his other writings there be little or nothing of it to be observed; and as he has often assured me, it was a thing he never affected; so, upon the objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some French words in these, and placed English in their stead, though perhaps not so significant.

There is one thing proper to inform the reader, why these Memoirs are called the Third Part, there having never been published but one part before, where, in the beginning, the author mentions a former part, and in the conclusion promises a third. The subject of the first part was chiefly the triple alliance, during the negotiation of which my lord Arlington was secretary of state and chief minister. Sir William Temple often assured me, he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that reason was

content

content his letters, during his embassies at The Hague and Aix-la-Chapelle, should be printed after his death, in some manner to supply that loss.

What it was that moved sir William Temple to burn those first Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from some passages in the second part, formerly printed: In one place, the author has these words, "My lord Arlington, who made so great a "figure in the former part of these Memoirs, was "now grown out of all credit," &c. In other parts, he tells us, "That lord was of the ministry which "broke the triple league; advised the Dutch war "and French alliance; and, in short, was the bottom "of all those ruinous measures which the court of "England was then taking;" so that, as I have been told from a good hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that lord a person fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding that famous league while he was secretary of state, who had made such counterpaces to destroy it. At the end I have subjoined an Appendix, containing, beside one or two other particulars, a speech of sir William Temple's in the house of commons; and an answer of the king's to an address of that house relating to the bill of exclusion; both which are mentioned in these Memoirs.

I have only farther to inform the reader, that although these papers were corrected by the author, yet he had once intended to insert some additions in several places, as appeared by certain hints or memorandums in the margin; but whether they were omitted out of forgetfulness, neglect, or want of health, I cannot determine: one passage relating to sir William Jones he was pleased to

tell

tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix*. The rest I know nothing of; but the thread of the story is entire without them.

* Sir William Jones was reputed one of the best speakers in the House, and was very zealous in his endeavours for promoting the bill of exclusion [in 1679]. He was a person of great piety and virtue; and, having taken an affection to sir William Temple, was sorry to see him employed in the delivery of so unacceptable a message to the House. The substance of what he said to the author upon it was: that, "for himself, he was old and infirm, and expected to "die soon: but you," said he, "will, in all probability, live to see "the whole kingdom lament the consequences of this message you "have now brought us from the king." SWIFT, Append. to Temple, vol. II, p. 56.

DEDICATION*

TO

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS,

VOL. I.

TO His most Sacred Majesty, William the Third, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. These Letters of Sir William Temple having been left to my care, they are most humbly presented to your Majesty, by

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful

and obedient Subject,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

* This dedication was neglected: nor did his majesty take the least notice of him after sir William Temple's death. *Orrery's Remarks.*

PREFACE

TO THE

TWO FIRST VOLUMES

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS, 1700.

(Published soon after Sir William's death.)

THE collection of the following letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton, who was one of the secretaries during the whole time wherein they bear date; and it has succeeded very fortunately for the publick, that there is contained in them an account of all the chief transactions and negotiations which passed in Christendom during the seven years wherein they are dated; as the war from Holland, which began in 1665; the treaty between his majesty and the bishop of Munster, with the issue of it; the French invasion of Flanders in the year 1667; the peace concluded between Spain and Portugal by the king's mediation; the treaty at Breda; the triple alliance; the peace at Aix-la-Chapelle in the first part; and in the second part, the negotiations in Holland in consequence of those alliances, with the steps and degrees by which they came to decay; the journey and death of Madam; the seizure of Lorrain and his excellency's recalling; with the first unkindness

unkindness between England and Holland, upon the yacht's transporting his lady and family; and the beginning of the second Dutch war in 1672. With these are intermixed several letters, familiar and pleasant.

I found the book among sir William Temple's papers, with many others, wherewith I had the opportunity of being long conversant, having passed several years in his family.

I pretend no other part than the care that Mr. Downton's book should be correctly transcribed, and the letters placed in the order they were writ. I have also made some literal amendments, especially in the Latin, French, and Spanish; these I took care should be translated and printed in another column, for the use of such readers as may be unacquainted with the originals. Whatever fault there may be in the translation, I doubt I must answer for the greater part, and must leave the rest to those friends who were pleased to assist me. I speak only of the French and Latin; for the few Spanish translations I believe need no apology.

It is generally believed that this author has advanced our English tongue to as great a perfection as it can well bear; and yet how great a master he was of it, as I think, never appeared so much as it will in the following letters, wherein the style appears so very different, according to the difference of the persons to whom they were addressed; either men of business or idle, of pleasure or * serious, of great or of less parts or abilities, in their several stations; so

* This mode of phraseology is ungrammatical; it should be—"either to men of business, or *the* idle; to *the* serious, or men of "pleasure."

that

that one may discover the characters of most of those persons he writes to, from the style of his letters.

At the end of each volume, is added a collection, copied by the same hand, of several letters to this ambassador, from the chief persons employed, either at home or abroad, in these transactions, and during six years course of his negotiations; among which are many from the pensionary John de Witt, and all the writings of this kind that I know of, which remain of that minister, so renowned in his time.

It has been justly complained of as a defect among us, that the English tongue has produced no letters of any value; to supply which it has been the vein of late years, to translate several out of other languages, though I think with little success; yet, among many advantages, which might recommend this sort of writing, it is certain that nothing is so capable of giving a true account of stories, as letters are; which describe actions while they are breathing, whereas all other relations are of actions past and dead; so as it has been observed, that the epistles of Cicero to Atticus give a better account of those times, than is to be found in any other writer.

In the following letters the reader will every where discover the force and spirit of this author; but that which will most value them to the publick, both at home and abroad, is, first, that the matters contained in them were the ground and foundation, whereon all the wars and invasions, as well as all the negotiations and treaties of peace in Christendom, have since been raised. And next, that they are written by a person who had so great a share in all those transactions and negotiations.

By residing in his family, I know the author has had frequent instances from several great persons, both at home and abroad, to publish some Memoirs of those affairs and transactions, which are the subject of the following papers; and particularly of the treaties of the triple alliance, and those of Aix-la-Chapelle; but his usual answer was, that whatever Memoirs he had written of those times and negotiations were burnt; however, that perhaps after his death some papers might come out, wherein there would be some account of them. By which, as he has often told me, he meant these letters.

I had begun to fit them for the press during the author's life, but never could prevail for leave to publish them; though he was pleased to be at the pains of reviewing, and to give me his directions for digesting them in order. It has since pleased God to take this great and good person to himself; and he having done me the honour to leave and recommend to me the care of his writings, I thought I could not at present do a greater service to my country, or to the author's memory, than by making these papers publick.

By way of introduction, I need only take notice, that after the peace of the Pyrenees, and his majesty's happy Restoration in 1660, there was a general peace in Christendom (except only the remainder of a war between Spain and Portugal), until the year 1665; when that between England and Holland began, which produced a treaty between his majesty and the bishop of Munster. And this commences the following letters.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD PART

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MISCELLANEA.

(First published in the year 1701. Our author was at that time M. A. and prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

THE two following Essays, "Of Popular Discon-"tents," "and "Of Health and Long Life," were written many years before the author's death. They were revised and corrected by himself; and were designed to have been part of a Third Miscellanea, to which some others were to have been added, if the latter part of his life had been attended with any sufficient degree of health.

For the third paper, relating to the controversy about "Ancient and Modern Learning," I cannot well inform the reader upon what occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another kingdom; but it appears never to have been finished by the author *.

The

* It seems very improbable that Dr. Swift should be altogether ignorant of the famous dispute about *ancient and modern learning*. If

The two next papers contain the heads of two Essays intended to have been written upon the "Dif-"ferent Conditions of Life and Fortune," and upon "Conversation." I have directed they should be printed among the rest, because I believe there are few who will not be content to see even the first draught of any thing from this author's hand.

At the end I have added a few translations from Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus, or rather imitations, done by the author above thirty years ago; whereof the first was printed, among other Eclogues of Virgil, in the year 1679, but without any mention of the author. They were indeed not intended to have been made publick, till I was informed of several copies that were got abroad, and those very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many spurious additions.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

he had not made this publick declaration, he would highly, and with justice, have resented the being taxed by any other with being ignorant of a passage which made so great a noise in the commonwealth of learning. At this time, however, the doctor (being generally suspected of being the author of "The Tale of a Tub," which came abroad some time before, and which he did not think fit to own) might fancy that, by his disclaiming the knowledge of the occasion on which sir William wrote the above Essay, he should weaken the suspicion of his having written "The Tale of a Tub," which last is a subsidiary defence of sir W. Temple.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS.

THE following Papers are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcribed in his lifetime. I have in all things followed his directions as strictly as I could; but, accidents unforeseen having since intervened, I have thought convenient to lessen the bulk of this volume. To which end, I have omitted several letters addressed to persons with whom this author corresponded without any particular confidence, farther than upon account of their posts; because great numbers of such letters, procured out of the office, or by other means (how justifiable I shall not examine), have been already printed: but, running wholly upon long dry subjects of business, have met no other reception than merely what the reputation of the author would give them. If I could have foreseen an end of this trade, I should, upon some considerations, have

longer forborn sending these into the world. But I daily hear, that new discoveries of *original* letters are hasting to the press: to stop the current of which, I am forced to an earlier publication than I designed. And therefore I take this occasion to inform the reader, that these letters, ending with the author's revocation from his employments abroad (which in less than two years was followed by his retirement from all publick business), are the last he ever intended for the press; having been selected by himself from great numbers yet lying among his papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the rhetorick of booksellers, or any other little regards, I might easily, instead of retrenching, have made very considerable additions: and by that means have perhaps taken the surest course to prevent the interloping of others. But, if the press must needs be loaded, I would rather it should not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the style of a publisher (an office liable to much censure without the least pretensions to merit or to praise) that if I have not been much deceived in others and myself, the reader will hardly find one letter in this collection unworthy of the author, or which does not contain something either of entertainment or of use.

DR.

DR. SWIFT'S REMARKS*

On "The first Fifteen Psalms of David translated "into † Lyric Verse. Proposed as an Essay "supplying the Perspicuity and Coherence ac- "cording to the Modern Art of Poetry; not "known to have been attempted before ‡ in any "Language. With a Preface, containing some "Observations of the great and general Defec- "tives of || the present Version in Greek, Latin, "and English; by Dr. [James] Gibbs §. Lon- "don, printed by J. Mathews, for J. Bartley, "over-against Gray's-Inn, in Holborn, 1701."

† Bagpipe. ‡ Nor I hope ever will again. || this and § Sternholdides. SWIFT.

DR. GIBBS.

[PSALM OF DAVID [1].

Comparing the different state of the righteous and the wicked, both in this and the next world.

THRICE happy he that doth refuse
With *impious* [2] *sinners* to combine;
Who ne'er their wicked way pursues,
And does the sinners *seat* [3] *decline.*

DR. SWIFT.

[1] I warn the reader that this is a lie, both here and all over this book; for these are not the Psalms of David, but of Dr. Gibbs.

[2] But, I suppose, with *pious* sinners a man may combine safely enough.

[3] What part of speech is it?

But

* By a memorandum on the first page it appears that these Remarks were thought valuable by one who must be allowed to have been of no inconsiderable rank both as a poet and a humourist: "The "following manuscript was literally copied from the printed ori- "ginal, found in the library of Dr. J. Swift, dean of St. Patrick's, "Dublin. The marginal notes and parodies were written by the "dean's own hand, except such as are distinguished with this "mark (φ), with which I am only chargeable. Witness my hand, "this 25th day of February, 1745. WILLIAM DUNKIN.

"N.B. The original was by me presented to his excellency "Philp Dormer Stanhope earl of Chesterfield, lord lieutenant "general and general governor of Ireland. W. D."

DR. GIBBS.	DR. SWIFT.
But still to learn and to obey The law of God is his delight, In that employs himself all day, And reads and thinks thereon at[1]night.	[1] A man must have some time to sleep; so that I will change this verse thus: "And thinks and dreams "thereon all night."
For as a tree, whose spreading root By some prolifick stream is fed, Produces [2] fair and lively fruit, And numerous boughs adorn its head;	[2] Look ye, you must thin the boughs at the top, or your fruit will be neither fair nor timely.
Whose very [3]leaves.tho' ftorms descend, In lively verdure still appear: Such blessings always shall attend The man that does the Lord revere.	[3] Why, what other part of a tree appears in a lively verdure, beside the leaves? Read. These very leaves on which you spend Your woeful stuff, may serve for squibs: Such blessings always shall attend The madrigals of Dr. Gibbs.

The above may serve for a tolerable specimen of Swift's remarks. The whole should be given, if it were possible to make them intelligible without copying the version which is ridiculed; a labour for which our readers would scarcely thank us. A few detached stanzas, however, with the dean's notes on them, shall be transcribed.

DR. GIBBS.	DR. SWIFT.
Why do the heathen nations rise, And in mad tumults join! Confederate kings vain plots [1] devise Against the Almighty's reign!	[1] I don't believe that ever kings entered into plots and confederacies against the reign of God Almighty.
But those that do thy laws refuse, In pieces thou shalt break; [2] And with an iron sceptre bruise The disobedient [3] *neck*.	[2] After a man is broken in pieces, it is no great matter to have his neck bruised. [3] Neak.
Ye earthly kings, the caution *hear*, Ye rulers, *learn* the fame [4]; Serve God with reverence, and with *fear* [5] His joyful praise proclaim.	[4] Rulers must *learn* it, but kings may only *hear* it. [5] Very proper, to make a joyful proclamation with fear.

[1] For

DR. GIBBS.

[1] For should the madness of his foes
Th' avenging God incense,
Happy are they that can repose
In him their confidence [2].

No fears shall then my soul depress *,
Though thus my enemies increase:
[3] And therefore now arise, O Lord *,
And graciously thy help afford.

And *thus* [4] to grant a sure defence
Belongs to God's [5] omnipotence.

But you, my frail [6] malicious foes,
Who do my power despise,
Vainly how long will ye oppose,
And [7] falsely calumnize!

Since those alone the Lord has blest
Who do from sin refrain,
He therefore grants what I request [8],
And hears when I [9] complain.

Then shall my soul with more divine
And solid joys abound;
Than they with stores of corn and wine,
Those earthly riches, crown'd [10].

DR. SWIFT.

[1] For should the foes of David's ape
Provoke his gray-goose quills,
Happy are they that can escape
The vengeance of his pills.

[2] Admirably reasoned and connected!

* Depr*e*ase, Lo*a*rd, Scotice.

[3] He desires God's help because he is not afraid of his enemies; others, I think, usually desire it when they *are* afraid.

[4] The doctor has a mighty affection for the particle *thus*: he uses it four times in this (the 3d) Psalm, and 100 times in other places; and always wrong.

[5] That is as much as to say, hat he that can do all things can defend a man; which I take to be an undoubted truth.

[6] Are they malicious out of frailty, or frail out of malice?

[7] That is, they say *false* things *falsely*.—I will discover the doctor's secret of making coherence and connexions in the Psalms, that he brags of in his title and preface: he lays violent hands on certain particles (such as *and, when, since, for, but, thus, so, &c.*) and presses them to his service on all occasions, sore against their wills, and without any regard whether the sense will admit them or not.

[8] It is plain the doctor never requested to be a poet.

[9] If your requests be granted, why do you complain?

[10] I have heard of a crown or garland of corn; but a crown of wine is new, and can hardly be explained, unless we suppose the wine to be in icicles.

And

DR. GIBBS.

And thus confiding, Lord, in thee,
I take my calm repose [1];
For thou each night protectest me,
From all my [2] treacherous foes.

Thy heavy hand restrain;
[3] With mercy, Lord, correct:
Do not ([4] as if in high disdain)
My helpless soul reject.

For how shall I sustain
[5] Those ills which now I bear?
My vitals are consum'd with pain,
[6] My soul oppress'd with care!

Lord, I have pray'd in [7] vain,
So long, so much oppress;
My very [8] cries increase my pain,
And tears prevent my rest:

These do my sight impair,
And flowing eyes decay;
While to my enemies I fear
Thus [9] to become a prey.

If I've not spar'd him, though he's grown
My causeless [1] enemy;
Then let my life and fortune [2] crown
Become to him a prey.

But, Lord, thy kind assistance [3] lend;
Arise in my defence:
According to thy laws [4] contend
For injur'd innocence.

That all the nations that oppose
May then confess thy power;
Therefore assist my righteous cause,
That they may thee adore:

DR. SWIFT.

[1] And yet, to show I tell no fibs,
Thou hast left me in thrall
To Hopkins eke, and doctor Gibbs
The vilest rogue of all.

[2] Ay, and *open* foes too; or his repose would not be very calm.

[3] Thy heavy hand restrain;
Have mercy, Dr. Gibbs:
Do not, I pray thee, paper stain
With rhymes retail'd in dribbs.

[4] That bit is a most glorious botch.

[5] The squeaking of a hoggrel.

[6] To listen to thy doggrel.

[7] The doctor must mean himself; for, I hope, David never thought so.

[8] Then he is a dunce for crying.

[9] That is, he is afraid of becoming a prey to his enemies while his eyes are sore.

[1] If he be grown his *causeless* enemy, he is no longer *guiltless*.

[2] He gives a thing before he has it, and gives it to him that has it already; for Saul is the person meant.

[3] But why *lend?* does he design to return it back when he has done with it?

[4] Profane rascal! he makes it a struggle and contention between God and the wicked.

For

DR. GIBBS.

For equal judgment, Lord, to thee,
The nations [1] all submit;
Be therefore [2] merciful to me,
And my just soul acquit [3].

Thus, by God's gracious providence [4],
I'm still preserv'd secure,
Who all the good and just defends
With a resistless [5] power.

All men he does with justice view,
And their iniquity
With direful vengeance can pursue,
Or patiently [6] pass by.

Lo! now th' inflictions [7] they design'd
By others to be born,
Even all the mischiefs [8] in their mind,
Do on themselves return.

O'er all the birds that mount the air,
And fish that in the floods appear [9].

Confounded at the sight of thee,
My foes are put to flight [1].
Thus thou, great God of equity,
Dost still assert my right [2].

But God eternally remains,
[3] Fixt in his throne on high,
And to the world from thence ordains
[4] Impartial equity.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] Yet, in the very verse before, he talks of nations that *oppose*.

[2] Because all nations submit to God, therefore God must be merciful to Dr. Gibbs.

[3] Of what?

Poor David never could acquit
A criminal like thee,
Against his Psalms who could commit
Such wicked poetry.

[4] Observe the connexion.

[5] That's right, doctor; but there will be no contending, as you desired a while ago.

'Tis wonderful that Providence
Should save thee from the halter,
Who hast in numbers without sense
Burlesqu'd the holy Psalter.

[6] That is no great mark of viewing them with justice. God has wiser ends for passing by his vengeance on the wicked, you profane dunce!

[7] Ay, but what sort of things are these inflictions?

[8] If the mischiefs be in their mind, what need they return on themselves? are they not there already?

[9] Those, I think, are not very many: they are good fish when they are caught, but till then we have no great sway over them.

[1] The doctor is mistaken; for, when people are confounded, they cannot fly.

[2] Against Sternhold and Hopkins.

[3] That is false and prophane: God is not fixed any where.

[4] Did any body ever hear of *partial* equity?

And

DR. GIBBS.

And thus consider still, O Lord,
The justice of my cause;
Who often hast my life [1] restor'd
From death's devouring jaws.

And from the barbarous [2] paths they tread,
No acts of Providence
Can e'er oblige them to recede,
Or stop [3] their bold offence.

And on their impious heads will pour
Of snares [4] and flames a dismal shower;
And this their bitter cup shall be
[5] To drink to all eternity.

[6] But they were all perverted grown,
Polluted all with blood;
And other impious crimes: not one
Was either just [7] or good.

Are they so stupid [8] then, said [9] God,
Who thus my [1] saints devour!
These [2] crimes have they not understood,
Nor thought upon my power.

[3] O, that his aid we now might have
From Sion's holy hill,
That God the captive just would save,
And glad all Israel!

DR. SWIFT.

[1] Nothing is restored, but what has been taken away; so that he has been often raised from the dead, if this be true.

[2] The author should first have premised what sort of paths were properly barbarous. I suppose they must be very deep or dirty, or very rugged and stony; both which I myself have heard travellers call barbarous roads.

[3] Which is the way to stop an offence? would you have it stopt like a bottle, or a thief?

[4] A shower of snares on a man's head would do wonderful execution. However, I grant it is a scurvy thing enough to swallow them.

[5] To taste the doctor's poetry.

[6] But they were all perverted grown,
In spite of Dr. Gibbs's blood:
Of all his impious strains not one
Was either just or good.

[7] For a man, it seems, may be good, and not just.

[8] The fault was not that they devoured saints, but that they were stupid. Q. Whether stupidity makes men devour saints, or devouring saints makes a man stupid? I believe the latter, because they may be apt to lie heavy on one's stomach.

[9] Clod. [1] Strains.
[2] Chimes.

[3] And O that every parish clerk,
Who hums what Brady cribs
From Hopkins, would attend this work,
And glad the heart with Gibbs.

All

DR. GIBBS.	DR. SWIFT.
All those that lead a life like this Shall reign in everlasting bliss [9].	[9] And so the doctor now may kiss ——— !

FINIS.

Fiddling Impudent Nauseous Illiterate Scoundrel Scot
Foolish Idle Nonsensical Ignorant Sott.

At the end of the MS. is the following note.

" The above was written from the manuscript mentioned in the first page, now in the hands of Nicholas Coyne, esq. being the only copy in the kingdom of Ireland; he having purchased the original, and afterward generously given it to his friend Dr. Dunkin, finding the doctor extremely uneasy at the disappointment the earl of Chesterfield was like to meet with, as he had promised the earl to attend the auction, and procure it for him at any price; and is now transcribed by Neale Molloy, esq. of Dublin, by the favour of the said Nicholas Coyne his brother in law, and sent by him to his kinsman and dear friend Charles Molloy of London, esquire.

Dublin, May 26, 1748."

TRIFLES.

CONSULTATION of FOUR PHYSICIANS upon a LORD that was dying *.

First Doctor.

IS his Honor sic? Præ lætus felis pulse. It do es beat veris loto de.

Second Doctor. No notis as qui cassi e ver fel tu metri it. Inde edit is as fastas an alarum, ora fire bellat nite.

Third Doctor. It is veri hei!

Fourth Doctor. Noto contra dictu in my juge mentitis veri loto de. Itis as orto maladi sum callet. [Here e ver id octo reti resto a par lori na mel an coli post ure.]

First Doctor. It is a me gri mas I opi ne.

* As Swift did not partake of the usual amusements of the world, for recreation, he indulged himself in various sports and whims of fancy. Among others he was fond of a new species of composition, which consisted all of Latin words, but by allowing for false spelling, and running the words into each other, the sentences would contain good sense in English. It was thought some specimens of this singular mode of writing would not be unacceptable to the reader. I shall here point out, in the two first sentences, the manner in which they are to be read into English.

First Doctor.

Is his honour sick? Pray let us feel his pulse. It does beat very slow to day.

Second Doctor. No no 'tis as quick as I ever felt; you may try it. Indeed it is as fast as an alarum, or a fire bell at night, &c.

Second

Second Doctor. No docto rite quit fora quin si. Heris a plane sim tomo fit. Sorites Para celsus; Præ re adit.

First Doctor. Nono Doctor I ne ver quo te aqua casu do.

Second Doctor. Sum arso: Mi autoris no ne.

Third Doctor. No quare lingat præ senti de si re-His honor is sic offa Colli casure as I sit here.

Fourth Doctor. It is æther an atro phi ora colli casu sed: Ire membri re ad it in Doctor me ades Esse, here itis.

Third Doctor. I ne ver re ad apage in it, no re ver in tendit.

Second Doctor. Fer ne is offa qui te di ferent noti o nas i here.

First Doctor. Notis ab ludi fluxit is veri plene.

Second Doctor. I fitis a fluxit me re qui re ac lis ter.

Third Doctor. I a ver his casis venere alas ĩ disco ver edit in as hanc cor; an da poli pus in his nosce. An di fit be as I cetis, ago no rea me en sue.

First Doctor. It is ad ange rus casas ani.

Fourth Doctor. I mus tellure alitis ago uti humor in his Bel li. Hi sto macto is empti.

First Doctor. It me bea pluri si; avo metis veri pro per fora manat his age.

Second Doctor. Ure par donat præsenti des ire; His dis eas is a cata ride clare it.

Third Doctor. Atlas tume findit as tone in his quid ni es.

Fourth Doctor. Itis ale pro si fora uti se. Præ hos his a poti cari; cantu tellus? Ab lis-ter me bene cessa risum de cens. Itis as ure medi in manicas es.

Third

Third Doctor. I findit isto late tot hinc offa reme di; fori here his Honor is De ad.

Second Doctor. His ti meis cum.

First Doctor. Is it trudo ut hinc?

Fourth Doctor. It is veri certa in. His Paris his Belli sto ringo ut foris de partu re.

Third Doctor. Næ, i fis Ecce lens is de ad lætus en dum apri esto præ foris sole. His Honor has bina Cato liquor a de isti here.

First Doctor. Alor dis sum times as tingi as an usu reris.

Second Doctor. Api stolis alligo time a verbi mi at endans for a forte nite.

Third Doctor. O mei ne vera tendo na nil ordinis sic nes ani more.

Fourth Doctor. Api stolis ne a quin in a nil ordo fis qua liti; sum pes fore times more. It istos mala fito a Doctor o fis hic.

Second Doctor. Lætus paco fitis time.

First Doctor. Abigo ditis hi time, in de editis, forus alto fallas campe ringo fas fastas arato ut offa da iri; fori fera bea tinge veri minute; bimi solido. His lac quis, an das turdis aussi sto ut valet is re di forus.

Second Doctor. Ali feris ab ast in a do; fori here ano is at adis stans.

A Love Song.

APUD in is almi de si re,
Mimis tres I ne ver re qui re,
Alo veri findit a gestis,
His miseri ne ver at restis.

An Epigram.

DIC, heris agro at, an da quar to fine ale,
Fora ringat ure nos, an da stringat ure tale.

To Samuel Bindon, Esq.

MOLLIS abuti,
Has an acuti,
No lasso finis,
Molli divinis.
Omi de armis tres,
Imi na dis tres.
Cantu disco ver
Meas alo ver?

In like manner he sometimes tried to write English words to be read into Latin, of which the following is an instance.

To the Rev. Mr. SHERIDAN.

Terse I ow I ane you are wry.

Am I say vain a Rabble is,

GAUDY o tea rue ry dy you sale you tye in service he: Said lynk way mere Ass, eat red Eye, add nose sight O *. Quipp ye knife all or tame Puss East. Tea Mary Tuck Sr; Tea may rent Family are ease. Anne lewd is cart is? Veal some no ill dull jest I? Anne Jo Cuz ty by place eat? Meer Rum spare O Freak went her Bib is: Lack Tea compleat: Ayd is, ride ease, Lock were is, do neck fat I gat us ease. A wry Debt nay, Rage in a eat may right us tye by? Do my Tea here I Eggs peck't have I; said may day say pist I. Usquebach come aen Ass; Force an I buy ass her o buss East; Codd mark a Toryes nice Eye ass I dumb mine I may hay bent. Said post hose Dairy lick toes add nose vain I. You buy inn do mow Day can at us bone um Salt 'em by beam us, sign on Mealy o'r'em fall or no.

* As a clue to the above, I shall point out in what manner the first sentence is to be read, leaving it to the reader's ingenuity to find out the rest.

Amice venerabilis,

Gaudeo te ruri diu saluti inservisse, sed linquamur eas, & redi ad nos cito, &c.

Satyr

Satyr nigh, dye ease nose ty feast us east. May come air is; Sigh mull soke ray to Carmen a Pan game us. Ride end 'um, buy bend 'um e'r it come so dayly buss; nigh least carry us invite a.

Sick Dice it Whore ah see us:
Spare take um Sick way pot you it wag and Team
Fall e'er he tast a.

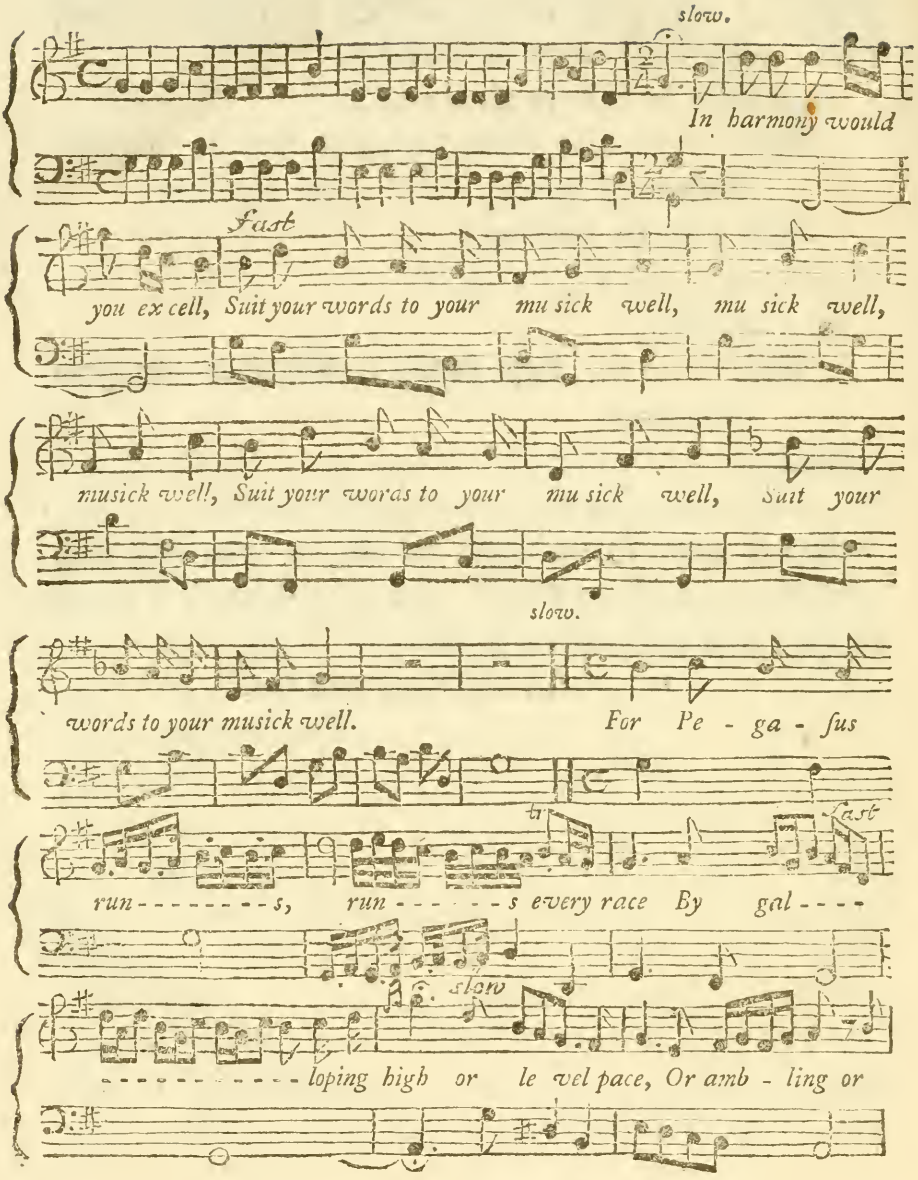
Et a lye by:
Back 'um in Ray mote is Carrmen are you Pye-buss.
Said;
For tune a lay to save an egg o show.

Sate I sope I nor sight ha' shown um: add fine 'em proper and 'um East. Valiant a Mice I Vestry, eat you in Shoe pair vally Ass.

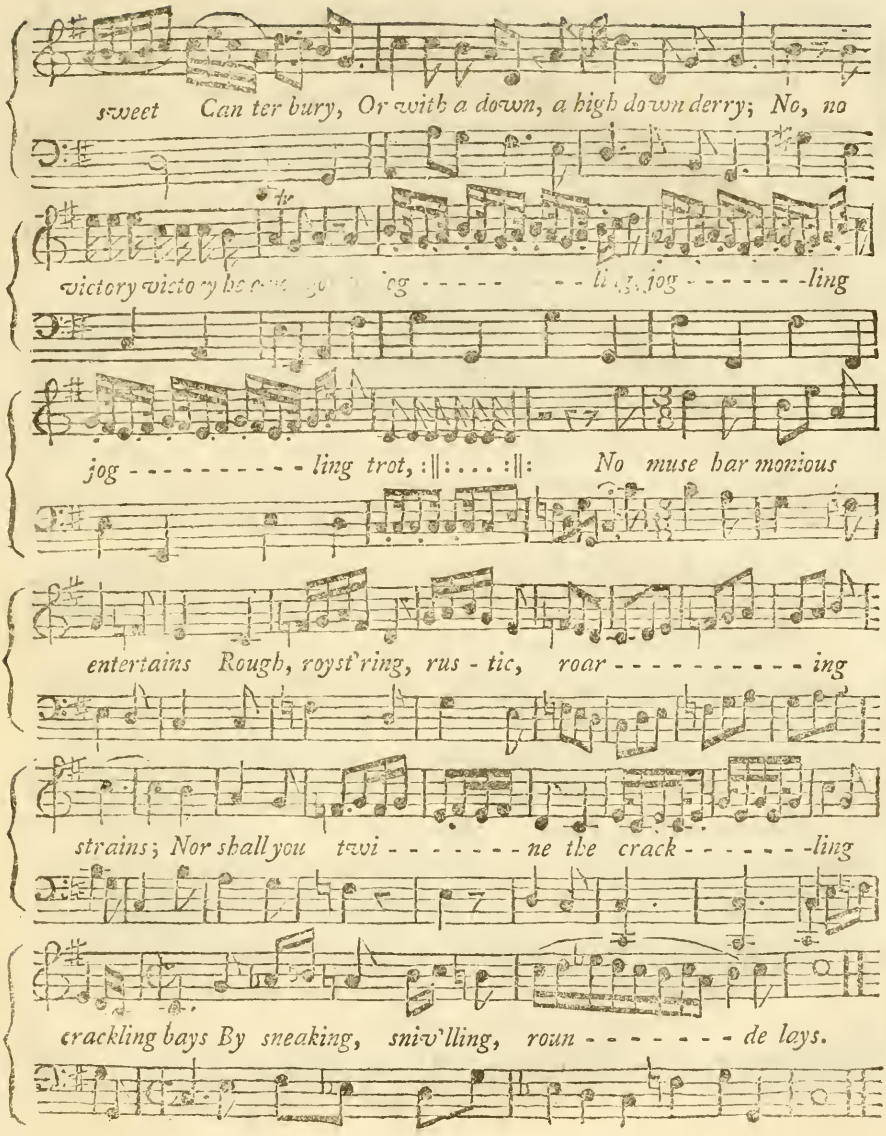
Ah my Cuz vest are,
Day can us.

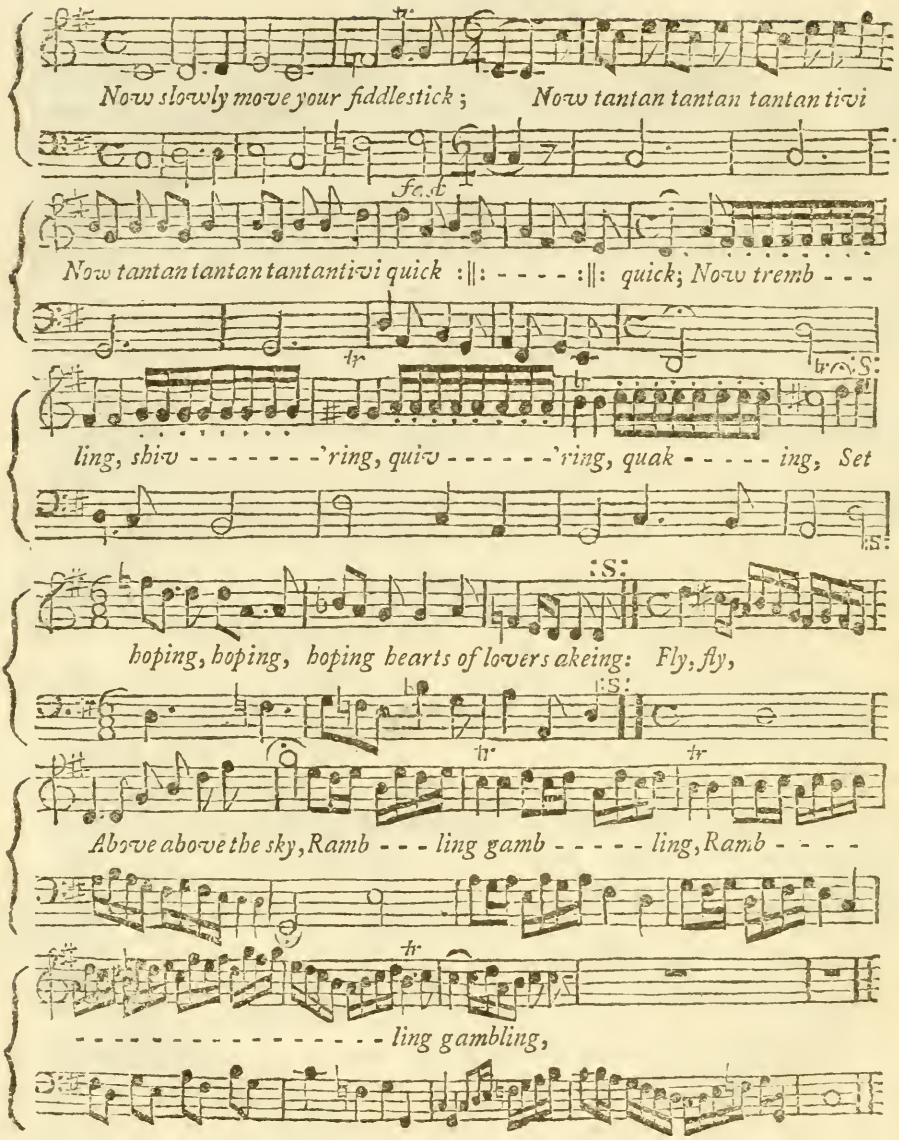
A CAN-

A CANTATA.

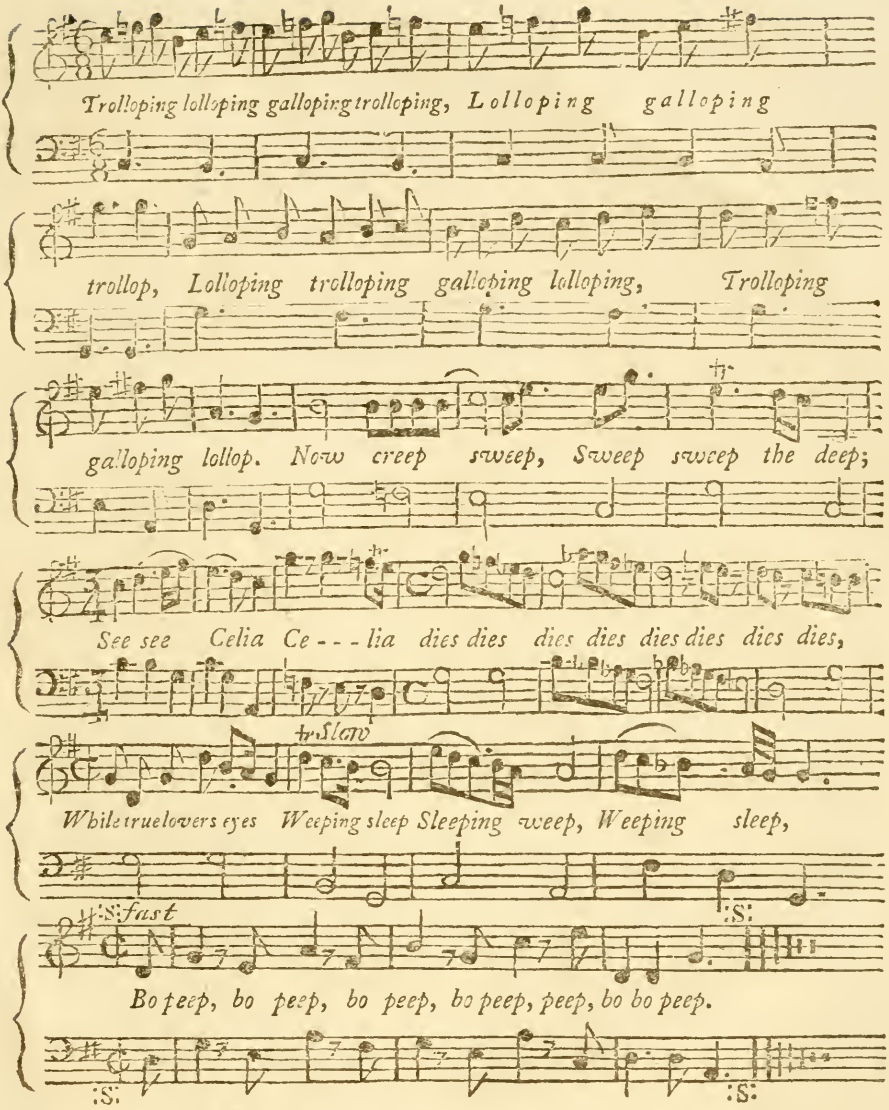


sweet


sweet Can ter bury, Or with a down, a high down derry; No, no
victory victory he cries, jog - - -


Now slowly move your fiddlestick; Now tantan tantan tantan tivi
fast
Now tantan tantan tantantivi quick :‖: - - - - :‖: quick; Now tremb - - -
ling, shiv - - - - - - - 'ring, quiv - - - - - - 'ring, quak - - - - - ing, Set
:S:
hoping, hoping, hoping hearts of lovers akeing: Fly, fly,
Above above the sky, Ramb - - - ling gamb - - - - - ling, Ramb - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ling gambling,

Trolloping



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